

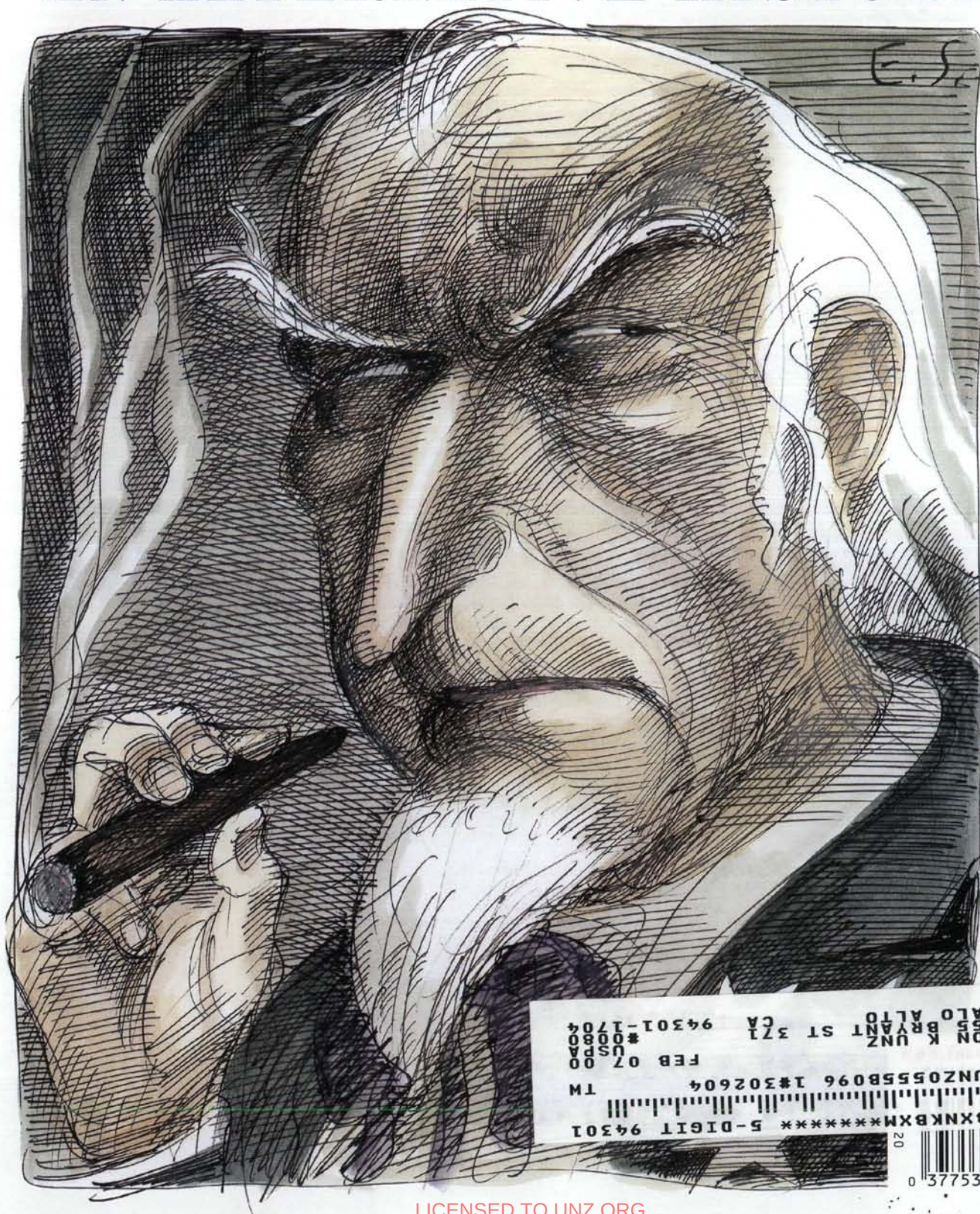
JANUARY 10/17, 2000

THE CENTURY

\$2.75 U.S./\$3.75 CANADA

The Nation.

AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY



#BXNKBX***** 5-DIGIT 94301
UNZ05558096 1#302604
TM
FEB 07 00
UNZ
PA
#0080
RON K UNZ ST 371 CA 94301-1704
PALO ALTO

20



0 377538 7

ON.COM

02 >

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

APRIL 12, 1900
HE, SHE, IT

SIR: I was struck by the recent letter in the *Nation* commenting on the inconvenience of having no third personal pronoun singular of common gender. In the part of the world where I was brought up, it is customary for all except grammatical purists to use "they," with its cases "their" and "them," in this sense. "They" is preferable to "it" because "it" implies the negation of personality.—Yours truly,

H. W. B. M.

DECEMBER 22, 1904
CHOPIN'S LEFT HAND

SIR: Your critic wonders that "Dr. Dannreuther could accept the preposterous notion that Chopin kept strict time with his left hand and confined his *tempo rubato* to the right hand." I should like to mention the testimony of two gentlemen who heard Chopin at a concert in Paris in 1842-43.... What they spoke of above everything was his "extraordinary left hand," which maintained a perfectly even, steady movement, entirely independent of the other. This was what impressed them most in Chopin's playing, and I have often heard them mention it.

Yours respectfully,

S. B. W.
Philadelphia

JULY 17, 1913
PLURAL MOLASSES

SIR: Your contributor...condemns Bartlett's attribution of plural molasses to Western United States, in his "Dictionary of Americanisms," as "this incorrect statement." Some years ago I assisted a corps of civil engineers surveying coal-bearing lands among the tangled knobs of mountainous West Virginia. Occasionally we were invited, in accordance with the hospitable custom of the country, to drop in at a log cabin and eat. The very palatable sorghum syrup that sweetened our meal drew from a native member of our corps the query: "Whah yo' git them molasses, Jimmy?"

S. W.
Columbia, Pa.

JULY 31, 1913
NATURALIZATION FOR JAPANESE

SIR:...To hosts of foreigners who swarm to these shores, and to the negro, the right of citizenship is granted, while it is refused to the Asiatics.... On many of us who have permanently settled in this country it imposes a handicap in every field of enterprise. It is the foundation for innumerable other discriminations—the California Anti-Alien Land bill being a striking example.... The strangest and most consoling part of it all is that the best element...are not responsible for these injustices.... The lower classes, trade unions, and the politicians who cater to them, are the real trouble makers....

H. OHASHI
New York

DECEMBER 25, 1913
THE MEXICAN LEADERS

SIR: Is it possible that the *Nation* believes that a cutthroat of twenty years' standing is in the field in behalf of legitimate, constitutional government? Has the *Nation* allowed itself to be humbugged by that silly shibboleth, *constitucionalista*?...

Villa, Zapata, Orozco, *et al.* are simply savages of superior intelligence. They are not taking

arms for the purpose of furthering clean, honest government, equal rights, incorruptible judiciary, abolition of the spoils system, universal suffrage, and representative, republican institutions.... They take the field...to murder, rob, and torture. They make no pretence at civilized warfare; they descend on a hacienda or pueblo, run off the stock, steal everything they can lay hands on, murder and mutilate the males and violate such women and girls as appeal to their savage lust.... And that is the class of man that the *Nation* is upholding.

VÁLGAME DIOS!
Chicago

[We have given no certificate of character to Villa. Many revolutionary movements have not been fastidious about their agents.—ED. NATION.]

JULY 6, 1916
ON LYNCHING

SIR:...I wish to say that all Southern people deplore just as much as you the lynchings in the South. But we also deplore the fact that you Northern people...criticise people just as good as you about something of which you know nothing whatever. Of course, we have law-breakers...we also have what we call the "rape and assault" of our women by negro brutes, and this you never have to deal with.... There is no law that will stop it until the South is more densely populated, and the negro comes to realize that it is sure death for him to commit this outrage....

I am not defending lynchings, but we of the South are defending our women against these occurrences...and we will continue to do so just as long as we are forced to do it.

ELLIOTT G. BARROW
Pensacola, Fla.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1925
CLASS JUSTICE IN GERMANY

SIR: In your issue of June 3 Mr. Louis Fisher says that "Hitler spent six months in a palace prison and was then released."

I was in prison at Sandberg, a.S. thirteen months in all. A special decree on April 1, 1924, deprived me of all previous privileges. All privileges theretofore granted the prisoner were either abridged or wiped out. Count Arco was still benefited by these alleviations.

ADOLF HITLER
Uffing

DECEMBER 8, 1926
THAT GLORIOUS WORD—DAMN

SIR: Your symposium on profanity is of great interest. Once Lord Tennyson discarded to me at great length on the silliness of profanity—its "feebly-forcefulness," etc. Then, after a silence of half a minute, or more, his whole face lit up and he exclaimed enthusiastically: "But that word 'Damn' is a glorious word, isn't it? Often, nothing else can take its place, or express the exact shade of your feeling!"

Y. S.
Columbia, S.C.

MARCH 27, 1929
THE CENTRALIA HORROR

SIR: The Centralia case constitutes one of the major horrors of what is called civilization in America at the present day. Everyone knows that the men were innocent of the crime for which they were convicted. Everyone knows that they shot in self-defense,

because their hall was invaded and their lives placed in danger.... And yet, because these men were and are rebels against wage-slavery for workers, they are kept in jail upon a frame-up, and the world goes its way, making its money and spending it for pleasures, heedless, without conscience, without heart. How can the jurors sleep at night...? How can the great governor sleep? How can his wife sleep? Or any other man or woman who knows the truth? This is one of the great mysteries of life that make one despair for the human race.

UPTON SINCLAIR
Los Angeles

JULY 17, 1935
AUCTION BLOCK

Perhaps you do not know about the revival of slavery that is going on in the Bronx. The people who suffer from it are domestic workers, and I am one myself. We go out to the street corners on Walton Avenue between 160th and 170th streets and wait for white women to come along and buy our labor. Sometimes it is only for two or three hours, but the white women haggle till they get the price down to ten cents an hour. Sometimes they put their clocks back to cheat us....

Please print this letter. I ask all your women readers please not to go to the auction block for their domestic help.... Pay union wages—give us houseworkers a chance!

A. VERA JONES
New York

OCTOBER 9, 1935
REFUGE FOR JEWS

...Without any desire to enter into a discussion of the moot point of the capacity of Palestine to absorb the Jews, may we point out that on account of the immigration restrictions and the high cost many thousands of destitute and persecuted Jews in Eastern Europe are...unable to emigrate to Palestine? Striking confirmation of the fact that many of these are looking toward the U. S. S. R. for a haven of refuge is furnished by the thousands of Jews in Poland and contiguous countries who have made application to go to the autonomous Jewish territory of Biro-Bidjan since the Soviet government announced a few months ago that non-Russian Jews will be admitted into the territory.... a territory where their own language—Yiddish—is the official one, where anti-Semitism is prosecuted as a crime, where they will have cultural as well as local autonomy....

JOHN LYONS
New York

JANUARY 24, 1942
NO ADEQUATE BLUEPRINTS

Dear Sirs: Professor Schuman...finds the answer to the problem of international government "in the written constitutions of the successful democracies" and the blueprints for a world order in "the works of Lincoln and Wilson and the recent writings of Streit, Humber, and Curry"....

[However] the international community is as different from the national community as the nation is from the family. Every new level of political organization rests less upon natural forces of social cohesion and requires a shrewder manipulation of power and of political mechanics. National communities rest upon some degrees of ethnic unity, some measure of homogeneity in culture, and very certainly upon geographic limitation.

(Continued on Page 52)

The Century Just Past

The last time a century turned, *The Nation* made no particular fuss about it, judging from the issue of January 4, 1900, found in one of the many tattered bound volumes of the magazine reposing in our office. Of course, *The Nation* was only thirty-five years old in 1900. Many additional volumes have accumulated on those shelves since then. With such historical resources at hand, we asked ourselves, how could we *not* draw on them and publish a special issue on the century seen through *Nation* eyes? Such a retrospective would also serve as a kind of alternative history of our times. And so editors and interns leafed through the crumbling pages of the past, extracting once hotly relevant words. But another question arose: Should we do a list? Every magazine, it seemed, was doing a century list. Again, we said, how could we *not* do our own? It represents what we consider the hundred most significant events of the century from our perspective, reflecting the causes and values this magazine stands for.

Assembled, the excerpts from past *Nations* form a mosaic showing what this magazine perceived and argued over past decades. (Regrettably, because of limited space and the focus on political and historical events, we have given less weight to the arts than they normally have in the magazine.) The selections provide, as E.L. Doctorow wrote in his introduction to the 1990 *Nation* anthology, "glimpses of our historical life as refracted in the eyes of witnesses...written not from an omniscient point of view but in a multiplicity of first persons. We can see history flashing up through its disasters with our alarmed writers running alongside."

This kaleidoscope of perspectives is informative, provocative, bewildering—and chastening. The last because it reveals so glaringly the occasions when the magazine has been "wrong." Wrong not only in the way that any observer dazzled by the headlights of the onrushing present might not see the next turn in the road but

2 CORRESPONDENCE

3 EDITORIAL

THE CENTURY
JUST PAST

5 THE CENTURY

A NATION'S-EYE VIEW
Eric Foner

8 AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY

*A decade-by-decade trip
through the archive.*

30 THE NATION'S CENTURY

*One hundred significant
events of the 20th century
in terms of freedom,
human rights and social
justice.*

*Cover art by Edward
Sorel; cover design by
WBMG; illustration by
Robert Grossman*

*This special issue edited
by JoAnn Wypijewski.*



*Between War & Peace
Komar and Melamid
From "'45 at 50:
The Anniversary of
Almost Everything,"
Special Issue
May 15, 1995*

EDITORIALS

The Nation.

PUBLISHER AND EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

LITERARY EDITOR: Art Winslow

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer

SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed,

JoAnn Wypijewski

WASHINGTON EDITOR: David Corn

COPY CHIEF: Roane Carey

COPY EDITOR: Judith Long

COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer

ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Amiri K. Barksdale

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle

INTERNS: Alexander Bolton (*Washington*), Brian Thomas Gallagher, Stephanie Greenwood, Maysan Haydar, Michael Kunichika, Alison Mann, Stanton McManus, Jason Sokol

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Christopher Hitchens, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *National Affairs*, William Greider; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Lucia Annunziata, Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Susan Faludi, Thomas Ferguson, D.D. Guttenplan, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Maria Margaronis, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Andrew L. Shapiro, Bruce Shapiro, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz

BUREAUS: *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Randall Kennedy, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Neil Postman, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ADVERTISING DIRECTOR: Ellen Bollinger

ASSISTANT ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY: Claude Misukiewicz

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING MANAGER: Vivette Dhanukdhari

CIRCULATION DIRECTOR: Michelle O'Keefe

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Cynthia Birnbaum

ASSISTANT CIRCULATION MANAGER: Inga Knets

PRODUCTION: Director, Jane Sharples; Sandy McCroskey

NATION ASSOCIATES COORDINATOR: Elena Megaro

PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Danielle Veith

DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS AND NEW MEDIA: Scott Klein

CONTROLLER: George Fuchs

DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas

RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Imrana Sayed

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT: Peggy Randall

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS: Peter Rothberg

ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling

MANUSCRIPTS: Address to The Editor, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. Not responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes. Unsolicited faxed manuscripts will not be acknowledged unless accepted. Unsolicited manuscripts are not accepted via e-mail.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the third week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2000 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Subscription Price: 1 year, \$52; 2 years, \$90. Add \$18 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions. Back issues \$4 prepaid (\$5 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. This issue went to press on December 22. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: The Nation is available on Thursday by 12:00 midnight Eastern Time, at www.thenation.com

E-MAIL: info@thenation.com. Letters to the Editor: letters@thenation.com.

wrong also in perspective and values. Under founding editor E.L. Godkin, an expatriate Englishman and one of the great editors of his time, the magazine perceptively covered Reconstruction and stood against the gaudy corruption and yellow journalism of the Gilded Age. But Godkin and, more pertinent, his successors excoriated unions, favored business, attacked socialism and scorned feminism. Subsequent editors modified or abandoned those views, and overall the magazine has shown a remarkable consistency in its core values—opposition to imperialism, support of civil liberties and human rights, hatred of corruption and abuse of power, commitment to reasoned discussion and rejection of cant, championing of equal rights for people of color.

Under Oswald Garrison Villard, who took over in 1918, *The Nation* became an impassioned dissenter in the suffocating decade of Harding normalcy and Coolidge prosperity, helping organize a worldwide campaign to free Sacco and Vanzetti, defending the rights of the beleaguered unions and airing feminist views in "These Modern Women." Villard also helped found the NAACP in 1910 and the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920.

In the 1930s under Freda Kirchwey, *The Nation's* fierce anti-fascism, its support for the New Deal and then the war effort placed it in the Popular Front mainstream. This had a salubrious impact on circulation but sometimes boxed the magazine into positions that are disturbing in hindsight—such as its support for FDR's court-packing bill and for the firebombing of Tokyo and the Hiroshima atomic bomb—although Kirchwey also warned prophetically of the danger the bomb posed to the world. In the 1950s, under Carey McWilliams, *The Nation* beat against the tides of McCarthyism. It published exposés of the FBI, the CIA and the military-industrial complex, ran numerous pieces on the US involvement in Vietnam and presciently covered civil rights and cultural phenomena like cable television.

If one lesson stands out in reviewing *The Nation's* history, it is that the magazine has been most useful, most prophetic, when it has played a strongly dissenting role. An example is the 1960 editorial exposing the preparations for the Bay of Pigs invasion—a story the *New York Times* would suppress at the government's behest. Other such contrarian stands later vindicated can be cited—the criticism leveled at various Central American interventions, the sounding of alarms at cold war curbs on civil liberties, the early and sustained opposition to the Vietnam War, the criticism of Russia's "transition" under Boris Yeltsin.

Dissent has its costs, of course, even in a free society. The magazine was banned from the mails during World War I; a series on the Catholic Church got it barred from parochial schools; its anti-cold war stance during the fifties depleted its circulation; its publication of excerpts from an advance manuscript of Gerald Ford's autobiography embroiled it in a lawsuit that went to the Supreme Court.

But that goes with the franchise. Today, in a time of increasing media concentration, the magazine's role as an independent voice has never been more crucial. We hope and intend that in another hundred years when historians peruse *The Nation* by whatever devices exist they will find a record of critical dissent comparable to that of the century just turned.

The Century:

A Nation's-Eye View

ERIC FONER

The turn of the century has become the occasion for all-too-predictable retrospectives and prophecies. In the hope of offering a somewhat different perspective, this special issue of *The Nation* presents a listing of 100 of the century's crucial events. Drawing on the magazine's rich archives from 1900 on, we have also assembled a running commentary on the century—a *Nation's-eye view*, as it were—in the form of excerpts from editorials, articles and reviews in the magazine.

This list focuses on two central developments. The first is the triumphant growth of American corporate capitalism (overcoming disasters like the Great Depression and the challenge posed by socialism and communism) and the concomitant emergence of the United States as the world's pre-eminent power, striving, sometimes with calamitous results for the rest of mankind, to remake the globe in the American image. The second is the unfinished struggle between the powerful and the disempowered, the free and the less free, the haves and the want-to-haves, over what kind of country this hegemonic power is and ought to be.

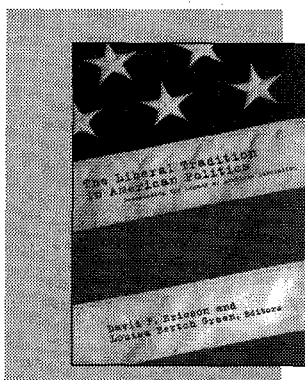
When the twentieth century opened, the United States had stridden onto the world scene as an aspiring economic empire with dominion over far-flung colonial peoples, thanks to the acquisition of overseas possessions in the Spanish-American War. But American power rests on far more than territorial sovereignty. At the last *fin de siècle*, the British writer W.T. Stead published a short volume with the arresting title, *The Americanisation of the World, or the Trend of the Twentieth Century*. Stead observed that the United States was emerging as "the greatest of world-powers," and he identified the inexorable spread of American ideas about art, science, music, gender relations and "the pursuit of wealth," rather than military prowess, as the fundamental source of American power. He foresaw a future in which the United States would promote its values and interests through an unending involvement in the affairs of other nations.

Today, as the century draws to a close, we are in many ways living in the world Stead imagined. The collapse of communism as an ideology and of the Soviet Union as a world power has made possible an unprecedented internationalization of current American values, among them free choice in the consumer marketplace, reduced government economic regulation and an emphasis on individual self-fulfillment rather than the social good, all promoted by an internationalized mass media and consumer culture.

As this century turns, America's historic sense of mission has been redefined to mean the creation of a single global free market in which capital, natural resources and human labor are nothing



ROUTLEDGE SMART READING



The Liberal Tradition in American Politics

REASSESSING THE LEGACY OF AMERICAN LIBERALISM

Edited by David F. Ericson and Louisa Bertch Green

Explores the full range and depth of the liberal tradition in America and how it has been perceived by political theorists and historians.

\$24.99

The Postzionism Debates

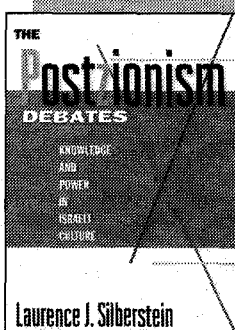
KNOWLEDGE AND POWER IN ISRAELI CULTURE

Laurence J. Silberstein

"One of the most important books on Israeli culture that will be published in the next few years...prepares the way for a rethinking of Jewish politics at the end of the 20th century."

—Daniel Boyarin

\$19.99



At bookstores, or call 1-800-634-7064; fax 1-800-248-4724

Visit our web site at www.routledge-ny.com

— BULK ORDERS —

OUR CENTURY: AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY

As this millennium closes, all-too-predictable retrospectives issues are everywhere. In the hope of offering a different perspective, this special issue of *The Nation* presents an alternative history of the last century. Drawing on the magazine's rich archives from 1900 on, this special issue includes a running commentary on the century—a *Nation's*-eye view, as it were—in the form of excerpts from the magazine and sharp reproductions of some of the most memorable illustrations the magazine has published. It also includes a listing of 100 of the century's most critical events.

Bulk Order Price List

1 - 9 copies		\$4.00 each
10 - 49 copies		\$2.50 each
50 - 99 copies		\$2.00 each
100 - 249 copies		\$1.50 each

ORDER FORM

Send me _____ copies of *Nation* Special Issue **OUR CENTURY: An Alternative History**. I enclose \$ _____ payment in full.*

NAME _____ (Please print)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

PHONE _____

*Mail check or money order to Nation Bulk Sales, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (US currency only. NY State residents please add appropriate sales tax.) All sales final.

more than factors of production in an endless quest for ever-greater productivity and profits, while activities with broader social aims are criticized as burdens on international competitiveness. The ideology of the global free market assumes that the economic life of all countries should be refashioned in the image of the United States.

Even as the United States has risen to become the predominant international power, however, conflict has persisted over the nature of American society itself and what its role in the world should be. This debate has involved not only political leaders and captains of industry but the struggles of anonymous men and women protesting their exclusion from the "pursuit of happiness" promised by the Declaration of Independence and the "blessings of liberty" enshrined in the Constitution. Often in the face of powerful opposition and government repression, popular social movements of workers, feminists, civil libertarians and many others have done much to shape the twentieth century, extending American rights and freedoms into realms inconceivable in 1900.

The Nation came into existence in 1865, a pivotal year in the consolidation of American nationalism (hence the magazine's title) and of racial egalitarianism, products of the North's victory in the Civil War and the destruction of slavery. But the nation and *The Nation* soon retreated from the ideal of racial equality. E.L. Godkin, this magazine's first editor, an early advocate of enfranchising the (male) former slaves, added his influential voice to calls for abandoning federal responsibility for enforcing blacks' newly acquired rights.

By the turn of the century, the language of "race"—race conflict, race feeling, race problems—had assumed a central place in American public discourse, applied not only to now disenfranchised and segregated African-Americans but to Asians, increasingly barred from entering the country, and to the millions of new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. This has indeed turned out to be the century of the color line, as W.E.B. Du Bois prophesied, and of its dismantlement—at least in its legal manifestations—thanks to the courage of ordinary men and women who braved violent retribution to demand racial justice.

History, however, is not a linear narrative of progress. Rights may be won and taken away; gains are never complete or uncontested, and popular movements generate their own countervailing pressures. As the century draws to a close, long-discredited ideas (social Darwinism, belief in inborn racial inequality and the "natural" differences between the sexes) again occupy respected positions in public discourse. Today's attacks on affirmative action, abortion rights, freedom of expression and the separation of church and state remind us that, as the abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson put it during the Civil War, "revolutions may go backwards." Nonetheless, America at the turn of this century is a far freer, more egalitarian society than in 1900, the result not of the immanent logic of a supposed American Creed of justice and equality but of struggles on picket lines and at lunch counters, in polling booths and even in bedrooms.

From the Spanish-American War to Vietnam, citizen movements have also challenged the dominant imperial vision of American power and the ways the United States has ridden roughshod over others' right of self-determination. Today's challenges to the

ideology of globalization by a revitalized labor movement, environmentalists and others are heirs to a long tradition that imagines this country's worldwide role as the promotion of greater social equality rather than military power and corporate profits.

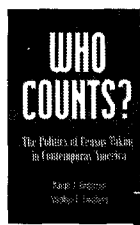
Of the questions that have preoccupied Americans for the past two centuries none are more pressing than the vast inequalities in wealth, income and power spawned by capitalism's heedless expansion. The Founding Fathers, convinced that democratic government required an economically independent citizenry, feared that progress would ultimately produce a society with a wealthy aristocracy akin to the upper classes of Europe and a nonpropertied majority easily incited to use their political power to despoil the rich. In such circumstances, they feared, republican government could not flourish. Today this same fundamental question of the relationship between political and economic democracy continues to bedevil our country and, indeed, the entire world.

With the fall of the Soviet Union and the replacement in Africa and Latin America of military regimes by elected governments, the 1990s were supposed to be the worldwide decade of democracy. Yet in our own country, democracy is in disarray: Fewer than half the population bothers to vote, and distrust of government as an alien and intrusive force is pervasive. Much of this disillusionment stems from the popular belief (not unreasonable, based on recent experience) that our political system is so corrupted by money that only wealthy individuals and giant corporations can expect to have their interests attended to by the state. The challenge of the new century is whether this disillusionment with the functioning of our democracy can become the basis for a revitalization of the traditions of American radicalism.

Globalization may be Americanizing the world, but it is also throwing into question traditional ideas about the relationship between national identity, social justice and political freedom. Decisions that affect the day-to-day lives of millions of people are made by institutions—the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization and multinational corporations—that operate without a shred of democratic accountability.

Will capitalism's global march produce a widely shared abundance or a continued widening of the gap between social classes—or, more precisely, on the evidence of the 1990s, the gulf between the very rich and everyone else, which persists amid an economic boom? Will political rationales for corporate power like neoliberalism or the Third Way become more deeply entrenched? Will democratic self-government survive the next century, or will the continuing internationalization of economic relations render the nation-state essentially irrelevant? Will America's role in the world be that of an increasingly isolated superpower, or will the United States support and work through multilateral organizations like the UN? Will the growing racial and ethnic diversity of the American population promote greater toleration and a more egalitarian society in which all share the same substantive rights or will it produce fragmentation and bitterness as the affluent (mostly white) wall themselves off from those at the lower rungs of the social order? These are the questions, bequeathed by the twentieth century, that will shape the life of the nation and *The Nation* in the twenty-first. ■

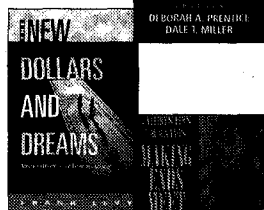
Social Science That Matters



WHO COUNTS?

The Politics of Census-Taking in Contemporary America

MARGO J. ANDERSON AND STEPHEN E. FIENBERG
The story of the lawsuits, congressional hearings, and bureaucratic intrigues surrounding the 1990 census and their implications for future censuses.
\$32.50 cloth, 256 pages



CULTURAL DIVIDES

Understanding and Overcoming Group Conflict

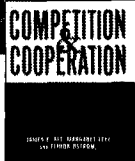
DEBORAH A. PRENTICE AND DALE T. MILLER, EDITORS
"A stimulating, provocative collection of some of the best minds studying racism, culture, and identity relations."
—Susan Fiske, University of Massachusetts
\$9.95 cloth, 560 pages



THE NEW DOLLARS AND DREAMS

American Incomes and Economic Change

FRANK LEVY
"The best book I have ever read on changes in the American economy and their effect on ordinary families."
—William Julius Wilson, Harvard University
\$16.95 paper; \$39.95 cloth, 256 pages



RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

MAKING ENDS MEET

How Single Mothers Survive Welfare and Low-Wage Work

KATHRYN EDIN AND LAURA LEIN
"Sure to be plumbed for what it says about the landmark new welfare law... [it] might also be plumbed for what it says about the state of poverty research."
—*New York Times Magazine* \$19.95 paper; \$42.50 cloth, 320 pages

THE HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The American Experience
CHARLES HIRSCHMAN, JOSH DEWIND, AND PHILIP KASINITZ, EDITORS
"This pathbreaking book will be required reading for both the specialist in immigration and the general reader wanting an introduction to the subject."
—Mary Waters, Harvard University \$65.00 cloth, 600 pages

COMPETITION AND COOPERATION

Conversations with Nobelists about Economics and Political Science
JAMES E. ALT, MARGARET LEVI, AND ELINOR OSTROM, EDITORS
"An important contribution to the field."
—Gary Miller, Washington University \$39.95 cloth, 336 pages

At bookstores now or call 1-800-524-6401
112 East 64th Street, New York, NY 10021 www.russellsage.org

An Alternative History.

What follows is a scrapbook of the great push and pull of history. It invites the reader to inscribe other memories and experiences, other ways of seeing; to write, between its fragments, histories not included, perhaps not even imagined here.

After all, it is an alternative history, one of many possible versions. And even within these pages can be heard a polyphony of voices dissenting, assenting, celebrating, cerebrating, invoking, provoking, viewing with alarm, viewing with hope—but united in the impulse to make a better world.

1900s

The Week.

There were almost no headlines in The Nation in the 1900s and 1910s, and no art. In the 1900s, no item was signed, on the principle that an author's views should not be judged by his—always his—renown.

JULY 26, 1900

THE DISPATCHES FROM the Philippine Islands continue to be made up of the most grotesquely inconsistent statements. A grand peace festival at Manila is announced, at which there will be games and banquets.... The dispatch continues with the statement the campaigning is very active. Two hundred natives were recently attacked by our troops, who killed seventy of them without suffering any casualties. It is further stated...[that] two hundred rebels have been killed since the last report. The censor at Manila evidently needs to pay more attention to his duties, and we fear that he either has no sense of humor, or else is tolerating jokes concerning the policy of the Administration which are not in good taste.

JUNE 8, 1900

More Books for Music Lovers

THE VOLUME [of Negro Melodies transcribed by Mr. Coleridge-Taylor] is prefaced by an interesting biographical sketch and essay on negro music by Booker Washington. When he says that, "apart from the music of the red-men, the negro folk song is the only distinctly American music," he repeats a current misconception which is equally amusing and amazing. For the seventy millions or so of us who are not Indians or negroes, there is vastly more that is American and prophetic of the future of American music in the works of MacDowell, Loomis, Huss, and others, than in all the Indian and negro tunes.

OCTOBER 18, 1900

IT IS A CURIOUS FACT that missionaries are to-day among the most ardent in urging the United States to lose no time in "stealing" some land away from the Chinese. Thus, even the venerable Mr. Martin of Pekin thinks that "we ought to take...the fine island of Hainan."...[T]aking a fine island is moderation itself compared with the grandiose schemes for doing people good by robbing them of their property which are entertained and expounded by Bishop Thoburn of the Methodist Church. He has discovered that it is "God's manifest plan" to "do away with small nations," and to leave in

the world "only six or seven great empires." What particular sauce the small nations may prefer to be eaten with, the good Bishop did not specify. His idea seems to be that his six or seven great empires will live in a kind of Mohammedan Paradise of peace, if for no other reason, because glutony will have made them torpid.

AUGUST 18, 1904

Between the unionists who originally used dynamite to murder their non-union competitors, and the Ku-klux Klan, which, in the interests of the operators, has terrorized whole sections and deported suspects without warrant of the law, there is as little to choose as between the negro ravisher of the South and the miscreant mob that roasts him.

—on the bloody mineworkers' battle in Cripple Creek, Colorado

APRIL 11, 1901

THE COUNTRY IS bleeding to death. Commerce is languishing. Agriculture is prostrate. Emigration of working-men is taking on alarming proportions, and distress prevails in all parts of the island." Is it of Ireland, does the reader think, that this is said? Or of Crete or Sicily? No, it is said of our own benevolently assimilated Porto Rico, and said by the leading financial and commercial organ of the island, the *Boletin Mercantil* of San Juan.... In the face of all this, what are we to think of Gov. Allen's official optimism? Why, we are to think that it is official optimism. Its indomitable nature may be sampled in his cheerful explanation of the reasons why laborers are emigrating from Porto Rico by the thousand. They are simply energetic, ad-

venturous fellows who want to better themselves! Would Gov. Allen say the same of Irish emigration? And how did it happen that it never occurred to the emigrants that they were in need of "bettering" until the Americans took over their island?

NOVEMBER 12, 1903

The Panama Dishonor

THE SUDDEN SEPARATION of the State of Panama from Colombia looks unpleasantly like a vulgar plot with "millions in it." Have our consuls, or any of our military officers, intrigued to bring about this artificial revolution?...

...If the alleged republic of Panama got on its legs by itself, and asserted its power against the Government of Bogota, then, after weeks or months, the question of recognition would properly have come before us. At the outset our duty was to keep hands off and await developments. To attempt to force matters—above all, to attempt to smuggle through a canal treaty with the mushroom republic—was shocking....

...At one stroke, however, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay have thrown American principles to the winds and have committed the country to a policy which is ignoble beyond words.... [A]nd all for what? To aid a struggling people? To take a stand for freedom or for republican institutions? To avert a danger? No; but just for a handful of silver, just for a commercial advantage which we ought all to spurn if not come by honorably. For this we have hurried into relations with the seceded State of Panama without giving Colombia a day's notice! It is the most ignominious thing we know of in the annals of American diplomacy.

DECEMBER 29, 1904

"COROLLARIES OF the Monroe Doctrine"...which Mr. Root [War Secretary] dwelt upon at the New England dinner on Thursday night related to...our duty to make all American republics "just." He declared that the correlative of saying Hands off to foreign Powers was saying to ourselves Hands on.... Is the quality of justice strained? Can a people be filled with the spirit of justice at the same time that they are

with cannon shot? Do we mean that the republics to the south of us will be just when they do just what we order? Such are the puzzles which confront us when we begin wandering among corollaries of the Monroe Doctrine.

JANUARY 26, 1905

IF ONLY BECAUSE the Fall River strike was the greatest ever known in the textile industry of this country, its settlement last week is of high importance.... Thousands of [workers] have been brought to the edge of starvation; and, as they go back to the mills at the 12½ per cent reduction in wages against which they struck on July 25, 1904, it must be clear to them now that the strike was a mistake from the beginning.... Gov. Douglas deserves praise for having brought his business knowledge and good relations with the employees so happily to bear. To the mill-owners, also, credit is due for having consented to an expert examination of their business, so as to prove to the public that they have paid as high wages as possible. This is a kind of voluntary publicity wholly admirable.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1905

A Disease of Civilization

THE OLD QUESTION whether insanity increases as civilization advances is still open....

We are told that the industrial and commercial life of the present is so intense and rapid that even strong men bend and break under the pressure. There is work without recreation, excitement without rest, gayety without pleasure—in short, nervous expenditure without corresponding satisfaction....

...Fatigue, disease, and madness invite intemperance. It is not the intemperance of a former generation—the drunkenness of the three-bottle squire or of the luxurious rich. It is the intemperance of the poor, of the hard-worked men and women who live from hand to mouth, and who seek to bring a momentary idealism into their lives by an artificial stimulus. There are preparations of drugs innumerable, advertised everywhere, to add fuel to the fire beneath the cracked boiler.... Cities like flaming lamps attract the multitudes like moths. Bad sanitary conditions and crowded tenements beget weak bodies and weak minds, breed immorality and consequent disease. Thus the idea has become more or less prevalent that society is going downhill....

But this pessimistic conclusion is

greatly weakened by other considerations of equal importance.... Almost all those who now suffer from mental diseases are sent to asylums.... Better accommodations for the patients, a greater number of institutions, the frequency of cures, the tendency to regard insanity as a disease like any other disease, and not as a moral obliquity—all these causes make people more ready to go or to send their afflicted relatives to public or private asylums for better care.

DECEMBER 6, 1900

EVERY SIGN OF awakened conscience on the subject of our national disgrace, the lynching habit, is surely to be welcomed; and the Chicago protest...was of good augury. But the eagerness to get the President to "refer to the matter in his message to Congress" was disconcerting. Did not the movers of the resolutions know that a President's message is the graveyard of pious sentiments...? Very likely there was also, in this curious desire to induce the President to take official notice of lynching, a vague feeling that, in this way, we might save our consciences. A sin officially deprecated can scarcely be charged up against us. We will stay the recording angel's hand by reminding him that our Chief Magistrate really wishes we would be good. As for the President's...actually recommending anti-lynching legislation, that was, of course, out of the question. The only place in which the United States, as a nation, can intervene to protect the lives of black men is in the Philippines. Our soldiers there habitually describe their present occupation as "nigger-killing." That the President can order stopped; he can do nothing to punish negro-slayers in Colorado or the South.

OCTOBER 5, 1905

**It is not probable that
Socialism of any kind will
make many converts
among our younger
university men, even
those who have tasted the
joys of collectivism under
an athletic director
at the training-table.**

—"A Propaganda of Socialism"

OCTOBER 25, 1906

THE EFFECT OF such a verdict [convicting Standard Oil of conspiracy] cannot be measured in dollars and cents. It represents the triumph of the law over the most dangerous and cynical of industrial corporations. We retain our belief that there is very limited help for present evils in multiting those fictitious and fabulously wealthy personalities we call Trusts. We note that Jack the Giant Killer struck not at the pockets, but at the necks, of his foes. When we see a few high managers of criminal corporations wearing prison garb we shall be within hailing distance of real reform.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1908

The Motor-Car Problem

THE MOTOR CAR has admittedly come to stay because of its marvelous convenience and because it is, when properly used, a genuine aid to good health. But how shall it be regulated?... Naturally, the wildest remedies have been suggested. There are men who think that every automobile should be so geared as to make it impossible to run more than twenty miles an hour. Others would compel the construction of motors that would not suck up the dust. The speed and the dust seem to be the chief causes of complaint....

...Many persons think the horn the worst feature; others are certain that if it is forbidden the number of accidents will increase—a point of view that seems to us correct.... Lord Willoughby de Broke voiced the prevailing sentiment...that the government should relentlessly compel a speed of ten or twelve miles an hour in all inhabited places.... Mr. Long, the author of the existing motor act,... would have no speed-limit and would hold every one responsible for the damage he does.

JUNE 8, 1905

THE MUTINY ON the *Kniaz Potemkin* and murder of officers; the landing at Odessa of the dead body of an alleged victim of naval brutality, to be buried as if on a funeral pyre amid the flaming warehouses and shipping of the port fired by a demoniacal mob; the terrorizing of the port by the man-of-war; the failure of the rest of the fleet to molest it; its seeking provisions and coal in a Rumanian port and forcible expulsion, and its present piratic wandering in the Black Sea flying the red flag—this is the very climax of weirdness and mystery.

TIMELINE

- 00 **November 1900**
Eugene Debs runs for President, polls 95,000
- 1900**
Scott Joplin's 1899 "Maple Leaf Rag" breakout hit
- 1900**
Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*
- 01 **January 22, 1901**
Queen Victoria dies
- February 1901**
US Steel founded by J.P. Morgan
- July 29, 1901**
Socialist Party founded
- October 16, 1901**
Teddy Roosevelt lunches with Booker T. Washington
- 02 **May 1902**
UMW anthracite coal strike
- 1902**
Teddy Bear introduced
- 03 **July 1903**
Mother Jones leads child workers in demanding 55-hour week
- October 13, 1903**
Boston Americans win first World Series
- December 17, 1903**
Wright brothers' first airplane flight
- 1903**
Human rights campaign against 20-year Belgian genocide in Congo rises
- 04 **May 5, 1904**
Cy Young pitches first perfect game
- November 9, 1904**
TR elected President
- 05 **April 17, 1905**
Supreme Court rules NY's law setting 60-hour week unconstitutional
- 1905**
Einstein's Theory of Relativity
- 06 **April 18, 1906**
San Francisco quakes
- June 30, 1906**
Pure Food and Drug Act, Meat Inspection Act passed
- 07 **March 21, 1907**
Marines land in Honduras
- 1907**
Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger*, precursor of Cubism
- 1907**
William James's *Pragmatism*

TIMELINE

- 08 November 3, 1908**
Taft elected President
- December 26, 1908**
Jack Johnson KOs "great white hope"
- 09 September 1909**
Freud lectures at Clark University
- November 22, 1909**
Female shirtwaist makers strike
- 1909**
Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House in Chicago
- 1909**
97 Negroes lynched in US
- 1909**
Socialist-feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman founds *Forerunner*
- 10 January 13, 1910**
Metropolitan Opera broadcast on wireless
- July 4, 1910**
Jack Johnson KOs "great white hope," touching off race riots
- November 8, 1910**
Victor Berger, first Socialist elected to Congress
- 1910**
Publication of *The Fundamentals*, tenets of Fundamentalism
- 1910**
9 million women wage earners; three-fourths earn less than \$8 per week
- 11 February 1911**
The Masses founded
- March 25, 1911**
Triangle Shirtwaist fire kills 146; exit doors locked
- April 11, 1911**
Triangle owners indicted for manslaughter

1910s

The Week.

Oswald Garrison Villard became editor in 1918, at which point the political perspective shifted radically.

FEBRUARY 20, 1913

The International Art Exhibition

ART IS AT THE BRINK either of a genuine revolution, or, as we believe, of a monstrous aberration. Either way, something like a new thing has been found under the sun, even if the newness turn out to derive from such venerable sources as excessive boredom, ignorant self-assertiveness, or over-ingenious pursuit of novelty and notoriety. If the newest art is really to be the art of the future, plainly homo sapiens must become a new creature—

'Ban, 'Ban, Cacaliban
Has a new master:
get a new man.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1912

Correspondence: The Violence of English Suffragettes

IREFER ESPECIALLY to an editorial in the *Outlook* for August 31.... Need I recall to any student of history the...serious rioting and destruction of property on the part of men which has preceded every advance in the liberties of which England is so proud. The male agitation for the "Great Reform bill," for example, expressed itself, in Bristol alone, by the burning of the Mansion House, the Custom House, the Bishop's palace, the excise office, three prisons, four toll-houses, and forty-two private dwellings and warehouses....

If then a certain organization of Englishwomen (and a very large and wealthy one) has embarked upon a definite policy of window-smashing, and of "pestering" public ministers, in order to gain certain political ends, these women are merely doing what they have seen their fathers and brothers do, and what the history of their country teaches them that citizens who consider themselves aggrieved have always done. To say that [the suffrage campaign]...is "the work of hysterical, crazy, and therefore irresponsible, women," is in the highest degree an untrue as well as an ignorant statement. The "militant" campaign, deliberately begun in 1905 [by, among others, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst], and systematically continued up to the present time, with ever-increasing enthusiasm and a constant

gain of recruits, might be described by almost any other adjective than "hysterical."

—Frances Berkeley Young,
Madison, Wisc.

AUGUST 10, 1916

A day or two ago, I wrote,

"under the service" for

"under the surface."

A livelier imagination

than my own may call the

substitution humorous;

the Freudian, who

can discover a sexual

motive in the binomial

theorem, will doubtless

find it obscene.

—Warner Fite, "Psychoanalysis and Sex-Psychology"

MAY 30, 1912

Socialism and Syndicalism

SELDOME HAS publicity come so suddenly and so lavishly to any movement as to the Syndicalist movement. Before the Lawrence strike,... there must have been very few people in this country who knew what the Syndicalist theory stands for and what was this I.W.W. organization in which the Syndicalist philosophy is embodied....

Syndicalism has come forth as the program of the proletarian "doers" as opposed to the intellectual Socialist talkers in the parliaments.... [Its] philosophy of "direct action" has recently been summed up as follows:

"Fellow-workers, you want an eight-hour day?... Take it, and when you come back the next morning, tell the master you were on strike four hours.... You want to get possession of the instruments of production? You are in possession already—all you have to do is to declare that you own the factory in which you work. If the master protests, lock him out. You... don't get the full product of your toil? Get it, do only as much work

as you are paid for, and go slow the rest of the time.... You say you are treated like dirt? Put some dirt into the product."...

...Socialist parliamentarism... stands for half measures, for palliatives, for concessions. Syndicalism demands all or nothing.... It is a philosophy of desperation.

OCTOBER 19, 1911

THE ADVANTAGES of Vice-President Sherman's plan of using up our resources as fast as we like and letting posterity do its own worrying, are evident. Economically, we should be vastly better off with the Guggenheims breaking their necks to serve us with the products of Alaska or any other unexploited region. A greater gain would be political. Who can estimate the increased prestige of President Taft at this moment if there had never been any falling-out over the question of who would profit by our untouched and therefore wasted wealth? Not the least of the merits of the plan is its contribution to mental comfort. From the beginning, conservation has been a peculiarly harassing problem. Are we wrong in thinking that there are millions of Americans who will give a sigh of relief...? The less we pass on to the future in the way of resources, the more will it be spurred to devise those inventions that give Mr. Sherman such anticipatory pleasure. The question just who, at present, should control these resources he does not appear to have considered. But why worry over that, either?

MAY 28, 1914

IT OUGHT NOT to be necessary to warn intelligent persons that the stories now being so industriously circulated about the militia outrage in Colorado are to be viewed with the utmost skepticism. In regard to the chief accusation, that of the wanton slaughter, and worse than slaughter, of women and children in the Ludlow camp, there is no reason to believe that there is a shred of truth in it. In some cases, the form the story takes is itself sufficient to stamp it as the result of... excited or hysterical narrators. Speaking to Senators Kern, Kenyon, and Martine, says a Washington dispatch, "Mrs. Jolly and Mrs. Thomas declared that mine guards were seen pouring

oil on tents in which women and children were sleeping, and later setting fire to the oil-soaked tents." The women and children were not "sleeping in tents," but were hidden in a covered pit under one of them; there is no reason to suppose that the militia had any suspicion that they were there at all.

AUGUST 8, 1912

THE...JUDICIAL TONE of [Lord Mersey's report on the loss of Titanic] is a rather incongruous garment for the terrible array of facts it covers. The ship was "sufficiently and efficiently officered," but it was reckless navigation which brought about its destruction.... A certain British passenger of distinguished lineage is exonerated from the charge that he bribed the crew of his life-boat to abstain from making rescues, but "If he had encouraged the men to return to where the Titanic had foundered, they probably would have made an effort to do so, and could have saved some lives." The judicial temper could hardly go further.

JULY 30, 1914

War Madness

BISHOP BUTLER ONCE speculated on the possibility of a whole nation going suddenly insane. If he were alive to-day, he could extend his query and ask if a half-dozen nations at once might not become crazy. In Vienna, in Paris, in Berlin, in St. Petersburg, he would see signs of acute mania afflicting large bodies of people. Mob psychology often shows itself in discouraging and alarming forms, but is never so repulsive and appalling as when it is seen in great crowds shouting for war.... The Parisian crowd is crying out to-day "à Berlin!"... And the way in which the war-fever has seized upon Berlin seems equally to call for the services not of a physician, but of an alienist. If one looked only at these surface manifestations, one would be tempted to conclude that Europe was about to become a gigantic madhouse.

NOVEMBER 28, 1912

**The football season
just ending shows, as
usual, a long list of
dead and injured.**

JUNE 10, 1915

THE RIGID GERMAN logic sees no difference between sinking a shipload of war material with its crew, and sinking an insignificant amount of ammunition, with a pitiful slaughter like that off Kinsale Head. Such argumentation only reinforces the belief that it was not against the cartridge cases in the Lusitania's hold that the German torpedo was directed, but against the men, women, and children on board. The purpose was not to destroy munitions, but to create a state of terror.

MAY 4, 1916

The Irish Outbreak

LET IT FREELY BE conceded that the existence of these conspirators and revolutionaries in Ireland is a reproach to English rule.... [Yet] in actual physical effect, it was all along impossible that the Irish uprising would be of great consequence. It wholly collapsed in a week, and...cannot affect the large ongoing of the war. But morally, of course, and politically, it is an event of high though painful significance. The best that the friends of Ireland can hope for is that the revolt will speedily be forgotten. Its moving spirits were young dreamers and writers who rushed to the sacrifice with a Sophocles in one hand and a rifle in the other. If the English are wise, they will not execute the captured rebels, but treat them as amiable and pathetic lunatics mostly in need of restraint and care.

OCTOBER 11, 1917

Russian Pessimism in Action

THE STORY OF the last seven months in Russia compels a reëxamination of the recognized formulas concerning the interplay of life and literature.... [In Russian literature, especially in these later years,] to raise questions for which there is supposedly no answer is "typically" Russian. To plunge into a spiritual chaos where good is evil and evil is good, where reason is madness and frenzy is enlightenment, and the end of all things is dust and ashes, and the only succor is in annihilation—this is "typically" Russian. In sum, to see energy spending itself in self-torture instead of fruition, is "typically" Russian....

To-day we are called upon to explain how, from this Slav soul, so

sickly with thought, there has come an outburst of energy which, in the space of half a year, has thrown the thoughts and ideals of the civilized world into ferment, and whose impress, we all recognize, will be written deep on the face of the new world that is to come after the war.

—Simeon Strunsky

AUGUST 23, 1917

IT SEEMS LIKELY that [I.W.W.] leaders can here and there be arrested on substantiated grounds of sedition or disorderly intent; and their arrest and summary punishment would give a salutary lesson to prospective lawbreakers. This we may leave to the sense and energy of the Department of Justice [under Attorney General Palmer] and the Senate.

APRIL 26, 1917

The American Tradition and the War

THE VIGOR WITH which we condemn the blunders and evasions of our recent policy in Mexico should not blind us to the proud fact that throughout our Government has been honestly trying to do what would be best for the Mexicans—a policy of national altruism without a parallel. The Monroe Doctrine has grown into Pan-Americanism—a movement which promises to set us farther on the road towards a brotherhood of nations than we have ever gone before. One does not have to deny our provincial astigmatism and our spread-eagle cant to conclude that the American spirit has been nearer the spirit of friendliness and forbearance, the spirit of Christ, than that of any other great nation on the face of the earth.

JULY 10, 1920

The Conquest of Haiti

TO BELGIUM'S CONGO, to Germany's Belgium, to England's India and Egypt, the United States has added a perfect miniature in Haiti.... The five years of American occupation, from 1915 to 1920, have served as a commentary upon the white civilization which still burns black men and women at the stake. For Haitian men, women, and children, to a number estimated at 3,000,...have been shot down by American machine gun and rifle bullets.... Black men have been driven to retreat to the hills from actual slavery imposed upon them by

TIMELINE

May 15, 1911

Supreme Court "breaks up" Standard Oil Trust into latter-day Exxon, SoCal, Mobil, Sohio and Standard Oil of Indiana

1911

Twelve states pass workmen's compensation laws

1911

"Everybody's Doing It" (the Turkey Trot)

1911

Irving Berlin's "Alexander's Ragtime Band" gives ragtime "white sound"

12 February 1912

US Marines land in Honduras

June 1912

US Marines land in Cuba

Summer 1912

Indian Jim Thorpe wins pentathlon and decathlon in Olympics

August 1912

US Marines land in Nicaragua

September 27, 1912

W.C. Handy's "The Memphis Blues"—first published blues hit

November 5, 1912

Wilson elected President

13 March 3, 1913

Suffragists march on Washington

May 29, 1913

Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* hooted in Paris

July 1913

IWW-led Paterson silk strikers starved to defeat

Summer 1913

Assembly line introduced by Ford

November 1913

Marcel Proust's *Swann's Way*

December 23, 1913

Federal Reserve Board created

1913

Socialist paper *Appeal to Reason* reaches 1 million readers

1913

Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*

14 January 5, 1914

Ford pays \$5 a day

April 20, 1914

Ludlow massacre of striking coal miners, wives, children in Colorado

July 15, 1914

Woodrow Wilson intervenes in Mexican Revolution

TIMELINE

July 28, 1914

World War I begins

September 26, 1914

Federal Trade Commission created

October 15, 1914

Clayton Antitrust Act recognizes rights of labor

November 13, 1914

Western Federation of Miners strikers crushed by militia in Butte

November 1914

Brassiere patented; will replace corset

1914

Woodrow Wilson orders segregation of federal workplace

15 January 25, 1915

Supreme Court upholds "yellow dog" contracts, which forbid membership in labor unions

April 5, 1915

White Hope KOs Jack Johnson

April 1915

Turkish genocide of Armenians begins

June 9, 1915

Secretary of State Bryan resigns, protesting Wilson's prowar drift

November 19, 1915

Copper bosses execute Joe Hill

November 1915

Ku Klux Klan revived in Georgia

1915

Provincetown Playhouse opens

1915

Scott Joplin's opera *Treemonisha* has one performance

16 September 3, 1916

Railroad workers win 8-hour day

September 7, 1916

Federal employees win Workmen's Compensation Act

1910s

white Americans, and to resist the armed invader with fantastic arsenals of ancient horse pistols, Spanish cutlasses, Napoleonic sabres, French carbines, and even flintlocks. In this five years' massacre of Haitians less than twenty Americans have been killed or wounded in action.

—Herbert J. Seligmann

OCTOBER 4, 1917

IT IS DIFFICULT to give serious consideration to Talaat Pasha's explanation of the Armenian massacres.... He himself was Minister of the Interior when this frightful orgy of blood and murder first broke loose. His was therefore the name signed to the order which doomed eight hundred thousand human beings to death or worse. What can be said for the opportunistic cynicism that now attributes this infamous proscription of a whole race to "irregularities in deportation"? Unfortunately, the deportations were all too regular, carried out with the method of a Prussian madness. The innumerable strings which controlled this unspeakable procession of crime were tightly held in Constantinople. Governors of provinces, too humane to carry out orders of assassination, were removed from office and disgraced by Talaat himself. The capital was the scene, right under the government's eyes, of multitudinous deportations under the most terrible circumstances. Indeed, if the testimony on hand goes to show anything, it is that the massacres were distinguished from all others by the fact of their business-like efficiency.

NOVEMBER 8, 1919

The Furnaces

I AM ON THE NIGHT shift. Twelve hours of wrestling with the molten mass of iron in a temperature that ordinary thermometers are not made to register fags one out. Yet it is hard to rest on a sticky summer's day in a hot bed that was occupied the night before. So I spent three hours this morning in an easy chair in Jake's saloon....

...Long Jim Harwood is my partner.... We are the only two white men in the cast-house.... The rest are Poles, Slavs, Finns, Letts, and Bohunks. Even the foundry foreman is a Hunkie, American born. But he uses us right....

Last Sunday there was another wedding at Wentzler's Hall.... [T]he fêted bride and groom...were showered with congratulations for a long

and happy life, and unmeasured married bliss by those who knew the phrases only as futile fiction....

How strange it is that the passing years sap the romance of life as well as the beauty, and how the new inventions—labor-saving devices, they call them, and multipliers of wealth—have taken the color, the creative zest, and the novelty out of work, and left it a husk.

—William J. Fielding

FEBRUARY 21, 1918

ESTILL SPRINGS, TENN., FEBRUARY 12.—Jim McIlherron, a negro, who shot and killed two white men here last Friday, was burned at the stake here today after a confession had been forced from him by application of red-hot irons.

HAD ANY SUCH item as this come out of Belgium or Armenia, we should know what to think of the unspeakable Germans and Turks responsible. A wave of horror would sweep over the country.... But when Americans thus debase themselves nobody volunteers to end the evil, nobody speaks about it—at least nobody who is white—and we complacently turn to the congenial task of setting up democracy in Germany. "The application of red-hot irons" is now a regular feature of these tortures—this is the second of the kind within a couple of weeks. In the other case, the man's eyeballs were slowly burned out—without even an apology to the Sioux. There is a Canadian soldier going around the country deeply stirring our rural communities with the tale of the crucifixion of three Canadians by German fiends. What reception would one of our black soldiers get if he were to lecture on the fiendishness of burnings in the South?

OCTOBER 25, 1919

The Revolt of the Rank and File

IT IS A WORLD-WIDE movement much accelerated by the war. In Russia it has dethroned the Czar and for two years maintained Lenin in his stead. In Korea and India and Egypt and Ireland it keeps up an unyielding resistance to political tyranny. In England it brought about the railway strike, against the judgment of the men's own executives. In Seattle and San Francisco it has resulted in the stevedores' recent refusal to handle arms or supplies destined for the overthrow of the Soviet Government.

In one district of Illinois it manifested itself in a resolution of striking miners, unanimously requesting their State executive 'to go to Hell.' In Pittsburgh, according to Mr. Gompers, it compelled the reluctant American Federation officers to call the steel strike, lest the control pass into the hands of the I.W.W.'s and other 'radicals.' In New York it brought about the longshoremen's strike and kept the men out in defiance of union officials, and caused the upheaval in the printing trade, which the international officers, even though the employers worked hand in glove with them, were completely unable to control.

The common man, forgetting the old sanctions, and losing faith in the old leadership, has experienced a new access of self-confidence, or at least a new recklessness, a readiness to take chances on his own account. In consequence,... authority cannot any longer be imposed from above; it comes automatically from below.

NOVEMBER 8, 1919

**"Injunctions won't
mine coal"—and coal
we must have; but
no less insistently we
must have justice.**

MAY 17, 1919

The Madness at Versailles

IN THE WHOLE HISTORY of diplomacy there is no treaty more properly to be regarded as an international crime than the amazing document which the German representatives are now asked to sign....

With [its] publication...the real battle for liberty begins. All that has gone before—the overthrow of Czardom in Russia, the constitutional struggle in Germany, the establishment of a Soviet Government in Hungary, the revolt against tyranny or constraint in all quarters of the globe—are only the preliminaries of the great revolution to whose support the friends of freedom must now rally everywhere. Less and less, as that struggle widens, will the world have place for either liberals or conservatives: Versailles has forced men into two camps, the radicals and the reactionaries. Heaven grant that the revolution may be peaceful, and that it may destroy only to rebuild!

—William MacDonald

TIMELINE

July–November 1916

Somme offensive—Allies lose
794,000 men, gain 7 miles

November 5, 1916

Everett, Washington, massacre
of Wobbly strikers

November 7, 1916

Wilson re-elected

December 21, 1916

Secretary of State says war likely;
stock market soars

17 January 26, 1917

Original Dixieland Jass [sic] band
brings white jazz to NYC

March 1917

Russian troops mutiny on Eastern
Front

April 6, 1917

Congress declares war

April 6, 1917

George M. Cohan writes "Over
There"

April 1917

Lenin arrives in Petrograd

April 1917

French troops mutiny on Western
Front

July 31–November 10, 1917

Battle of Passchendaele; British
lose 400,000 men

August, November 1917

Suffragists picketing White House
arrested

18 January 8, 1918

Wilson announces Fourteen Points

March 3, 1918

Soviet Union withdraws from WWI

June 3, 1918

Supreme Court declares child-
labor protections unconstitutional

November 11, 1918

Armistice signed

1920s

The Shape of Things.

What really matters is how women will use the ballot. Will they carry on in the true spirit of Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott? Or will they consent to and by passivity connive at the disfranchisement of their colored sisters in the South—the acid test of understanding their new part? Stop with the ballot they cannot, nor short of full equality, economic as well as political. No office in the land but shall be open, no distinction of sex but shall be abolished. And from their struggle women ought surely to bring into our world of handicaps and disqualifications a fuller and more sympathetic understanding to destroy privilege, to remove inequality, and to transform democracy from a mummified fetish into a living reality.

—Editorial, September 4, 1920

So the President declines to pardon Debs [from charges brought under the Espionage Act in 1917] on the ground that it would "set a bad precedent and would encourage others to oppose the Government in the event of another war." Let us hope, charitably, that this decision, too, must be laid to the President's ill-health....

As for Debs,...he has the daily thrill of realizing that while his prosecutors have been rejected by the American people as has no other administration in history, nearly two millions of Americans voted for the man in prison garb behind the bars. Those voters did not believe Debs either disloyal or guilty.... No, Debs has nothing to destroy his soul's poise in Atlanta, where he has become the greatest influence for goodness and light.

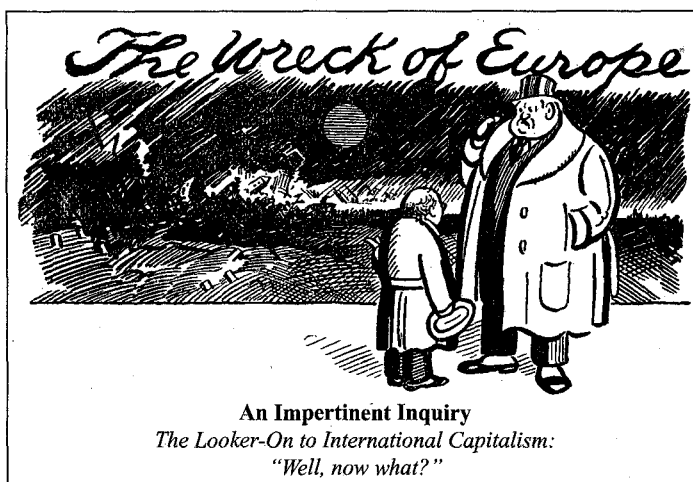
—Editorial, December 1, 1920

Poems

AMERICA ONCE HAD HEARD that Mr. Sassoon was the poet of the war, had read him, and had found him dull. But Wilfrid Owen's poems come from England now, and they convince....

If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin,
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs
Bitten as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues—
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est*
Pro patria mori.

—Review by Mark Van Doren, May 25, 1921



Art Young

"Looking On," 1/3/23

Africa for the Africans—
The Garvey Movement

Whatever may be said by way of criticism, this movement of the colored masses is anything but a joke. Neither Garvey nor any other human being could ever build up such a movement among the masses if it did not answer some longing of their souls. His particular movement may fail; the new racial consciousness of the Negro will endure....

It may take a hundred years or five hundred, a thousand years or five thousand, but four hundred million people can never be expected either to perish or forever to renounce their right to self-direction.

—William Pickens, December 20, 1921

In [President Warren G. Harding's] style there is pressure, ardency, efforticy, gasping, a high grunting, Cheyne-Stokes breathing. It is a style that rolls and groans, struggles and complains. It is the style of a rhinoceros liberating himself by main strength from a lake of boiling molasses.

—H.L. Mencken, "A Short View of Gamalielese," April 27, 1921

TIMELINE

1918

Kotex develops first commercial sanitary napkin

1918

Flu epidemic—worst pandemic since the Black Death—kills 20 million, 500,000 in US

19 February 6–11, 1919
Seattle general strike

March 2, 1919

Third International in Moscow

July 1919

Race riots in 26 US cities

September 1, 1919

US Communist Party founded by Left Socialists

September 19, 1919

Police strike in Boston

October 1919

Black Sox throw 17th World Series

November 11, 1919

Legionnaires attack IWWs in Centralia, Washington

November 19, 1919

Senate rejects League of Nations

1919

John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*

20 January 16, 1920

18th Amendment takes effect—Prohibition

January 19, 1920

ACLU founded

February 14, 1920

League of Women Voters founded

March 1920

8 IWWs sentenced in Centralia massacre

August 1, 1920

Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association holds first national convention in Harlem

1920s

The Black-Shirt Revolution

Sunday, October 29, 1922, the strong state arrived with a bang. Its advent has been heralded in Rome by an ever-growing horde of hungry Fascisti armed with canes, table-legs from wrecked labor headquarters, burly tree-roots, rifles, and machine-guns. Its installation has been featured by the sacking of newspaper offices and Wild West shootings....

Down the streets still hurtle armed lorries, and every gutter-snipe is aboard with the tricolor, blood-lust in his eye, protected by his black shirt, his orange collar, his skull-and-cross-bones symbol, and his red fez. In the theaters the Fascist anthem is played deliriously, while "black shirts" climb upon the seats to spy out and maltreat all those who fail to lift their arms in the Fascist salute or to wear the proper smile of joy.

—Carleton Beals, on Mussolini's March on Rome, December 13, 1922



Scared

Art Young

"Looking On," 1/3/23

While civilization is effecting a dysgenic counter-selection of a mischievous kind, sterilizing the good stocks and encouraging the multiplication of the bad, we must be willing to make some sacrifice of comfort for the sake of eugenics.

—W.R. Inge, "Control of Parenthood—Moral Aspects," December 7, 1921

The Eruption of Tulsa

A mob of 100-per-cent Americans,...numbering more than 10,000, made a mass attack on Little Africa. Machine-guns were brought into use; eight aeroplanes were employed to spy on the movements of the Negroes and according to some were used in bombing the colored section.... During the first two days...120 graves [were dug] in each of which a dead Negro was buried. No coffins were used.

—Walter F. White, June 29, 1921

**Now the Presidency
sinks low, indeed. We
doubt if ever before it
has fallen into the hands
of a man so cold, so
narrow, so reactionary,
so uninspiring, and so
unenlightened, or one
who has done less to
earn it, than
Calvin Coolidge.**

—Editorial, on the occasion of
President Harding's death,
August 15, 1923

Death of a Nation

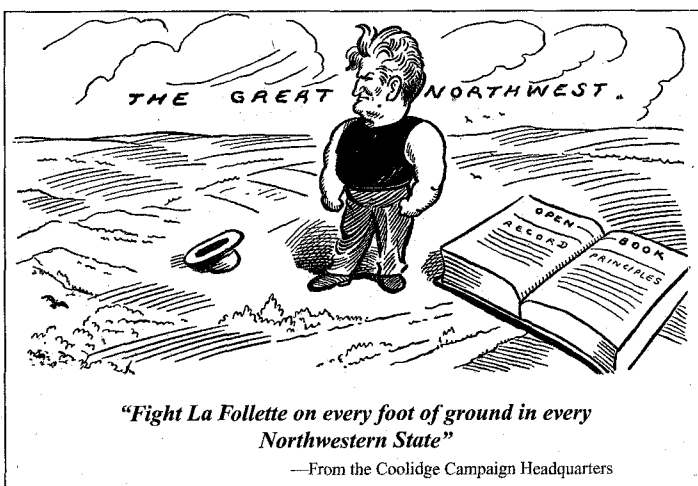
Germany is today a kind of madhouse of embittered men and women.... Some readers of this paper are continually writing its editors begging that [we] be more optimistic. They are a little like Mr. [William Jennings] Bryan, who denies the principle of evolution because, as he puts it, he prefers not to believe it. These people demand optimism because they prefer optimism.... But we believe in facing facts.... [The French dismemberment of Germany] can kill the German republic. [It] can destroy German unity. [It] can starve Germans. In that sense we may witness the death of Germany.

—Editorial, October 10, 1923

A Jewish Manifesto to the Arabs

The Jewish National Council of Palestine has issued a second manifesto to the Arabs: "...We come not to dominate you,...nor yet to encroach on your own perfect and sacred rights.... [S]hall we debase our thoughts by having intention to exploit a whole nation, our very kindred, with whom we are dwelling in one country?"

—Document, December 13, 1922



Art Young

From "La Follette in America," by Arthur Warner, 8/27/24

Why I Earn My Own Living

My parents declined to accept my man as a son-in-law. I would not marry him without their consent because "a bad daughter makes a bad wife"; yet I wouldn't give him up because life without him was too utterly dreary. The outcome was that he went back to the city to make a fortune as a substitute for "character," while I returned to teach school in my home town....

My man actually did make a fortune. But he married a woman who...had been working and living with him during his long, hard pull.... I had been a good daughter but had lost my lover thereby....

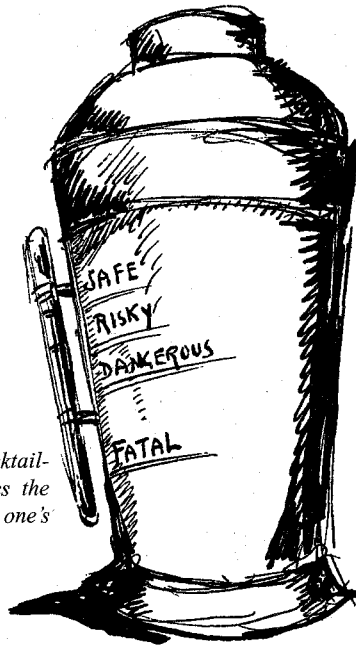
Then and there I renounced my allegiance to ready-made codes. I again left my home town and went away to work out my salvation or destruction....

Intense curiosity awoke in me. Always I had repressed questionings because they led to criticism of the fundamentals of society.... I got a job reading in libraries, gathering material for a writer. Seven hours a day I put in on assigned subjects and the rest of the time I read about anarchy, sex, votes-for-women, education, divorce, and similar topics. I read till my eyes puffed out and my head was splitting. I went to university lectures and also met soap-box orators. I gobbled ideas.

—Anonymous, "These Modern Women" series, December 8, 1926

**The entire weight of
a modern flapper's
garments, including
her shoes, totaled
about 22 ounces.**

—Editorial, "The Female Form
Divine," November 13, 1929



A self-registering cocktail-shaker which abolishes the necessity of relying on one's taste.

Hendrik van Loon

New Gifts for the Leisure Class, 2/13/29

Mass Movies

We photograph an echo and the rat-tat-tat of a machine-gun. The impression is physiological. Our psychological approach is on the one hand that of the great Russian scholar Pavlov...and on the other, that of the Austrian Freud.... Take the scene in "Potemkin" where the Cossacks slowly, deliberately walk down the Odessa steps firing into the masses. By consciously combining the elements of legs, steps, blood, people, we produce an impression—of what kind?... [A]s the soldiers' boots press forward [the movie goer] physically recoils. He tries to get out of the range of the bullets. As the baby carriage of the crazed mother goes over the side of the mole he holds on to his cinema chair. He does not want to fall into the water.

Our mounting method is a further aid in achieving such effects. [In conventional films] a sled rushes down a snowy toboggan and you merely see it sliding and skidding to the bottom. We photograph the bumps, and the movie goer feels them, and hears them, too, from the orchestra pit.... Mounting—the interlacing of close-ups, of side-views, top-views, bottom-views—is the most important part of our work. A picture is either made or unmade by it.

—Sergei Eisenstein, November 9, 1927

The War in Passaic

The strike of the textile workers in Passaic, New Jersey, is a strike of hunger. It is the direct result of a 10 per cent slash in wages already...the lowest in American industry...cut by companies whose mills are among the richest in the country.... That is what has sent ten thousand textile workers streaming out of the mills. That is why after weeks of strike the picket line numbers thousands.... Never has a strike of such small numbers shown such mass picketing and such parades....

...[F]ourteen years [after the Lawrence strike] we see people whose real wages are but little higher.... In Passaic we have the spectacle of hundreds upon hundreds of women, the most overburdened of all the population, the mothers of large families, forced by their husbands' low wages to work in the mills. These women, who may have six, seven, and eight children, go to work at night. They work for ten hours a night, five nights a week.... Most of them have children under school age as well and these they must attend to during the day—rest or no rest....

A law was passed by the legislature of New Jersey forbidding night-work of women. A group of women mill workers appeared at Trenton and begged to have this law repealed. Of course they did. How can a family of nine people live on \$20? Of course these women will clamor to be allowed to kill themselves with night-work rather than forgo the pittance which they make.

—Mary Heaton Vorse,
March 17, 1926

We hail the bathing suit.... It never bags at the knees and rarely shines on the seat.... It reveals feminine softness and manly muscle. It puts the daughter of a subway motorman on the same sartorial plane as the daughter of a Pennsylvania politician.

—Editorial, July 21, 1926

TIMELINE

November 1, 1920

Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* opens

November 2, 1920

Harding elected

November 2, 1920

Debs receives over 900,000 votes in prison

21 March 1921

Bill Haywood jumps bail to Russia

July 14, 1921

Sacco and Vanzetti convicted

22 1922

Charles Atlas wins "world's most perfectly developed man" contest

1922

Six-month coal strike cripples industry; wages slashed

23 July 20, 1923

National Women's Party proposes Equal Rights Amendment

1923

Emma Goldman's *My Disillusionment With Russia*

24 January 21, 1924

Lenin dies

January 1924

2.5 million radios in US homes

February 2, 1924

Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*

November 4, 1924

Calvin Coolidge elected

November 4, 1924

Labor-backed Progressive Robert La Follette polls 5 million votes

1924

J. Edgar Hoover appointed FBI director

1924

Daily Worker founded

25 August 8, 1925

KKK parades in Washington

August 25, 1925

A. Philip Randolph organizes Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

November 12, 1925

Louis Armstrong and Hot 5 record

1925

Crossword puzzle fad 22 years before Frank Lewis joins *Nation*

26 January 1926

Yearlong Passaic textile strike begins

May 1926

New Masses founded

TIMELINE

May 1926

Coco Chanel introduces "little black dress"

1926

Florida land bubble bilks thousands

27 April 7, 1927

First public demonstration of television

May 20–21, 1927

Lindy's hop

September 30, 1927

Babe Ruth swats 60th homer

December 27, 1927

Showboat opens

1927

The Jazz Singer, first talking picture

1927

George Antheil's *Ballet mécanique*

1927

Werner Heisenberg discovers Uncertainty Principle

1927

Average annual industrial wage rises to \$1,304

1927

Poverty level for family of four is \$2,000

28 August 27, 1928

Kellogg-Briand Pact renounces war

November 6, 1928

Hoover elected President

November 6, 1928

Socialist Norman Thomas polls over 260,000

1928

USA has 35,000 millionaires

1928

Disney's *Steamboat Willie*, first sound cartoon

1920s

Georgia: Invisible Empire State

Georgia is beautiful. Yet on its beauty rests something disturbing and strange.... Nobody seems wholly frank—neither white nor black; neither child, woman, nor man. Strangers ask each other pointed questions: "What is your name?" "Where are you going?" "What might be your business?" And they eye you speculatively. Once satisfied, the response is disconcertingly quick. They strip their souls naked before you; there is sudden friendship and lavish hospitality. And yet—yet behind all are the grim bars and barriers; subjects that must not be touched, opinions that must not be questioned. Side by side with that warm human quality called "Southern" stands the grim fact that right here beside you, laughing easily with you and shaking your hand cordially, are men who hunt men: who hunt and kill in packs, at odds of a hundred to one under cover of night. They have lynched five hundred Negroes in forty years; they have killed unnumbered white men. There must be living and breathing in Georgia today at least ten thousand men who have taken human life, and ten times that number who have connived at it.

—W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, January 21, 1925

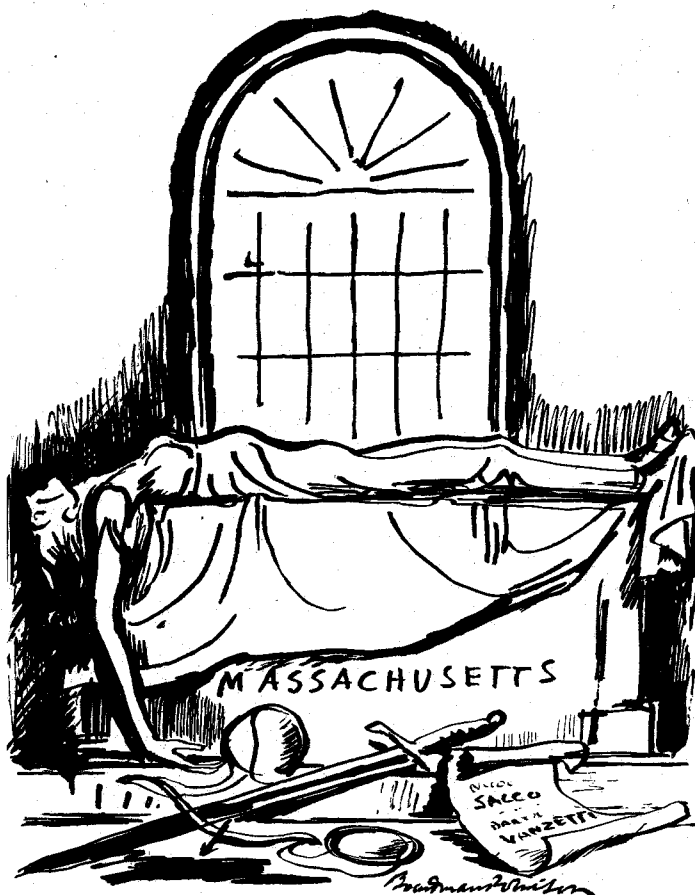


Louis Lozowick

"What is Prosperity?" by Stuart Chase, 10/23/

Sacco and Vanzetti are condemned to death. Around the earth the news has winged its way as fast as light and...millions of workers now believe that justice does not exist in America, that two innocent men are going to their doom in order that a social system may be upheld, a tottering social order may triumph.

—Editorial, "Justice Underfoot," August 17, 1927



Boardman Robinson

9/7/27

Sissified Sex Literature

Literature is becoming emasculated by being written mainly for women and largely by women. The majority of men in this country, having been co-educated by women-teachers, are unaware of this directly, but become vaguely impressed that something is the matter later in life. I call it the sissification of literature and life. The point of view of the modern "important" novel like "Ulysses" is feminine in its preoccupation with the nastiness of sex.

—William McFee,

Letter to the Editor, July 20, 1927

Decree to the Army of Art

Stop marching slowly, Futurists,
Into the future—leap!

The streets shall be our brushes,
Our palettes shall be the squares.
The thousand-paged Book of Time
Revolution's songs shall know:
Into the streets, Futurists
Drummers and poets, go!

—Vladimir Mayakovsky,
November 11, 1925

Isadora Duncan Is Dead

All the bare-legged girls, and the poised and natural girls with strong muscles, and strong free steps wherever they go—the girls that redeem America and make it worth while to have founded a new world, no matter how badly it was done—they all owe more to Isadora Duncan than to any other person. And the boys too that have a chance to be unafraid of beauty, to be unafraid of the natural life and free aspiration of an intelligent animal walking on the earth—all who have in any measure escaped from the rigidity and ritual of our national religion of negation, all of them owe an immeasurable debt to Isadora Duncan's dancing.

—Max Eastman, September 28, 1927

With Sandino In Nicaragua

Carleton Beals was the only foreign journalist to interview Gen. Augusto Sandino during the 1927–33 war against US military occupation. He filed regular dispatches to The Nation while traveling with the guerrillas from February 22 to April 18, 1928.

Sandino discussed the campaign.... "Yes, we owe all to our enemy.... From him we have taken everything we possess. If we had not been attacked, we would have no clothing and no ammunition, and we would have perished, for we are incapable of living by banditry. We have taken nothing from the peasantry, save that which has been tendered to us voluntarily. In El Chipote the entire countryside used to toil up to the heights with food and animals for our soldiers, laying what we needed at our feet.... [T]he countryside is with us, to almost a man. Do you think we could have existed in one fortified place for half a year with all the might of the United States against us, if we had been merely bandits?..."

At this point Sandino ordered brought in to me the various weapons taken from the American forces: Browning, Lewis, and Thompson rifles, airplane machine-guns, etc. "We now have thirty machine-guns," he declared. "Does a bandit travel around with thirty machine-guns, except in Chicago?"

—Carleton Beals, March 21, 1928

Logic is not a vice of the fundamentalist. He is against birth control. He detests the very words.... Birth control can hardly be considered without considering sex, and sex should be suppressed and ignored as far as possible.

—Freda Kirchwey, "Out of Bondage," November 21, 1928

The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain

Jazz to me is one of the inherent expressions of Negro life in America: the eternal tom-tom beating in the Negro soul—the tom-tom of revolt against weariness in a white world.... Let the blare of Negro jazz bands and the bellowing voice of Bessie Smith singing the Blues penetrate the closed ears of the colored near-intellectuals.... Let Paul Robeson singing Water Boy, and Rudolph Fisher writing about the streets of Harlem.... cause the smug Negro middle class to turn from their white, respectable, ordinary books and papers to catch a glimmer of their own beauty. We younger Negro artists... intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too.... If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn't matter either. We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves.

—Langston Hughes, June 23, 1926

Einstein's Latest

Einstein's latest contribution is, so far as we can learn, as abstract and as "pure" as a medieval metaphysician's proof of the existence of God. It starts from certain established formulae which have reference to the electromagnetic field and by a manipulation of these symbols, so ingenious that only four or five persons can understand them, it demonstrates that the original formulae are identical with others which refer to gravity; but never once does it emerge from abstractions....

In all humility we bow before Einstein, but if this sort of thing goes on much longer science is going to find itself ruling a realm as autonomous and remote as that of theology itself.

—Editorial, February 13, 1929

Take Every Empty House!

In a crisis such as now confronts us, no man has a moral right to close the doors of a building which he does not use; and if he will not rent at a fair rate, the municipal government should not hesitate to take possession, fix a fair rental, and let the people in.... The crisis is too acute and too near to wait for slow and formal processes. The emergency is as great, and calls for as prompt and energetic action as any that could arise out of a war. Let every empty house be opened for people who have no homes.

—Editorial, August 28, 1920

**Is the country headed for
calamity, with the stock
market carrying the flag?**

We think not.

—Editorial, "After the Whirlwind,"
November 27, 1929

TIMELINE

1928
Radclyffe Hall's lesbian novel,
The Well of Loneliness, banned

January 1929
Nearly half of factories running
at a loss

April–September 1929
CP-led strike in Gastonia, NC

September 3, 1929
Stock market hits new high

October 29, 1929
Stock selloff reaches peak

October 1929
More than 3 million unemployed

1929
Total advertising volume reaches
\$3 billion (double 1919)

1929
Business profits rose an average
7.3 percent a year since 1922

1929
Stalin consolidates power;
Lovestoneites expelled from
CPUSA

30 March–April 1930
Gandhi leads 200-mile march
against salt tax

April 22, 1930
London Naval Treaty inked

1930
Average annual wage \$1,288

1930
4.5 million unemployed; corporate
gross profits \$3 billion

31 May 4, 1931
Striking miners fight gun thugs
in Harlan County, Kentucky

1931
8 million unemployed; corporate
losses \$800 million

32 March 7, 1932
Strikers killed by cops at Ford's
Dearborn, Michigan, plant

May 20, 1932
Amelia Earhart first woman to fly
Atlantic solo; sets speed record

July 24, 1932
10 million women working

July 28, 1932
Bonus Army routed by US Army

August 9, 1932
Iowa farmers strike

November 1, 1932
Highlander Folk School opens,
trains political activists

TIMELINE

November 8, 1932
Roosevelt elected

November 8, 1932
Thomas (Socialist) gets over 880,000 votes; Foster (CP) over 102,000

1932
Consumers Union founded

1932
Average annual wage: \$842.92

1932
Communists organize Unemployed Councils

1932
13 million unemployed; corporate losses \$5-6 billion

January 30, 1933
Hindenburg appoints Hitler chancellor of Germany

March 4, 1933
Franklin Roosevelt inaugurated

March 5, 1933
FDR proclaims national bank holiday

March-June, 1933
First 100 Days: NIRA, AAA, CCC, FCA, TVA, CWA, PWA, FERA

May Day 1933
Dorothy Day's *Catholic Worker* founded

December 5, 1933
Prohibition repealed

July 16, 1934
General strike in San Francisco begins

May-August 1934
Minneapolis Teamsters led by Trotskyists win bloody strike

Summer 1934
Southern Tenant Farmers Union founded

Is It to Be Murder, Mr. Hoover?

Is it to be mass murder, Herbert Hoover? Murder by starvation, murder by disease, murder by killing all hope—and the soul?...

Do you know what is happening?... Have you not heard that city authorities in St. Louis and the charitable agencies have just turned adrift 13,000 families which they can no longer support, while the city of Detroit has dropped 18,000 who now have...no assurance that even a single crust of bread will be forthcoming for their support?... Did you read that eight hundred men marched into the Indiana State Capitol last week demanding food, declaring that if they were not given help they would return 300,000 strong? Have you learned that the police in St. Louis have already fired on a mob demanding bread? Have you not read of the town of Clinton, Mass., where on July 7 "more than three hundred men, women, and crying children crowded the corridors of the Town Hall appealing for food"—only to learn that the town treasury has been exhausted, that it is unable to borrow a cent from any bank, and that it has been, and still is, trying to support one out of every six residents of the town who are destitute?

—Editorial, August 3, 1932

The hardly bought achievements of the machine age in the hands of our generation are as dangerous as a razor in the hands of a three-year-old child.

—Albert Einstein, "The 1932 Disarmament Conference," an anticipatory essay, September 21, 1931



GANG WAR.

LOW
8/15/34

**A command was given
and the cavalry
charged the crowd
with drawn sabers.**

—Paul Y. Anderson, "Tear-Gas, Bayonets, and Votes," on the military assault in Washington, DC, against the "Bonus Army" of poor veterans and their families, August 17, 1932

The Pot and the Kettle: Roosevelt and Hoover Militarists Both

We must not forget that Mr. Roosevelt favored our intervention in Mexico.... He connived in and welcomed the pulling down of the Haitian Republic. He has twice denied to *The Nation* that he made the remark attributed to him in the press...that he had written the Haitian constitution and forced it down the throats of the Haitians. But he does not deny that he was entirely satisfied with what was done in Haiti and particularly with the act of Smedley Butler in dispersing the Haitian legislature with a pistol in his hand and a battalion of marines at his back.

—Oswald Garrison Villard, October 26, 1932

1930s

Even though the change to a Democratic Administration offers no real relief...from the disaster in which the country finds itself, we cannot but take heart at the verdict.

—Editorial, "The End of Herbert Hoover," on the election of Franklin Roosevelt, November 16, 1932

In the Driftway

The National Smile Contest was organized apparently in the interest of portrait photographers. Prizes to the number of 173 were offered as bait. "Maybe you have one of the 173 best smiles in the U. S. A.," read the advertisement of one studio. "Have a smiling picture taken—it will automatically enrol you in the National Smile Contest." A photograph of a young lady with a mouth like a tooth-paste advertisement bore the slogan: "What this country needs is a *Smile*!" What this country needs, retorted the Drifter, though he fears nobody heard him, is something to smile about.

—The Drifter, December 7, 1932

The Horrors at Shanghai

Shanghai, February 23

The Japanese...bombed and bombarded the North Station of the Shanghai-Nanking Railway; they bombed and burned to the ground the Commercial Press, the greatest Chinese publishing house in the world; they also bombed and burned to ashes the famous Oriental library attached to the Press, in which there were some million volumes and ancient manuscripts, many of which can never be replaced...

...An American consular official watched a Japanese marine catch a poor coolie and bayonet him, and every time the body showed signs of life, drive the bayonet through it from a new angle.... A German business man named Hans Kremm, trapped with his family for days in the war zone,...had seen Japanese creep up to the houses, set them on fire, and then when the families hiding inside were driven out by the flames, shoot them dead in their tracks.... It is not known how many thousands of Chinese civilians were killed. Mr. Kremm saw piles of dead bodies on which hungry, yelping dogs fed for days.

—Agnes Smedley, March 30, 1932

Gandhi Succeeds

A little brown naked man lies in a bare prison yard, and by his simple refusal to eat brings two warring classes of his countrymen together and the proud Empire to terms. It seems incredible, but it is true. Gandhi's readiness to die of starvation has achieved this result on the sixth day of his fast, and the British government, whose India office worked Sunday and Sunday night lest Gandhi die suddenly, has agreed to revise that portion of its recent communal plan which provided for separate electorates for the depressed classes. When ever before did a political prisoner behind the bars achieve anything like this by a simple readiness to die rather than to accept what he considered an intolerable award?

—Editorial, October 5, 1932

Upton Sinclair's Victory

If ever a revolution was due, it was due in California. Nowhere else has the battle between labor and capital been so widespread and bitter, and the casualties so large; nowhere else has there been such a flagrant denial of the personal liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights; nowhere else has authority been so lawless and brazen; nowhere else has the brute force of capitalism been so openly used and displayed; nowhere else has labor been so oppressed; nowhere has there been a falser or more poisonous press. It was time for some sign of rebellion....

[Mr. Sinclair] has made multitudes think and will make still more. He has won them...to his belief that the economic and political jungle we live in today is no more necessary and inevitable than were the foul horrors of that human cesspool of the stockyards which he—to his everlasting honor—revealed in his most famous book "The Jungle."

—Editorial on Sinclair's successful nomination as Democratic candidate for California Governor, September 12, 1934



Futuro

From "Will Europe Go to War?"
by Ludwig Lore, 7/31/37

That Hitler has again lost the opportunity to head a German coalition Cabinet offered to him by President von Hindenburg is excellent news. His wavering, his vacillation, and his failure to take this chance to become Chancellor must certainly hurt him further with his followers. He has persistently boasted that he was his party.... Yet when confronted by the offer made by Hindenburg this bold dictator...conclude[d] that, after all, the conditions laid down by Hindenburg were too onerous. No Napoleon here—just a confused and weak demagogue in the process of being deflated. He now declares that he will be Chancellor within four months. Perhaps. But he has told his army of their impending victory so often that this need alarm no one.

—Editorial, December 7, 1932

[On January 30, 1933, Hitler would become Chancellor. By March he would proclaim the Third Reich.]

**Why should
non-intoxicating beer be
denied equality with the
oyster or the milk shake,
which are now widely
sold across the bar?**

—Editorial, March 8, 1933

TIMELINE

September 18, 1934

421,000 textile workers on strike

1934

Kirov's murder; Stalin's purges begin

1934

1.5 million workers on strike

35 January 5, 1935

Group Theatre produces Clifford Odets's *Waiting for Lefty*

March 19, 1935

Harlem riot

April 1935

American Writers Congress convened

May 27, 1935

Supreme Court kills National Industrial Recovery Act

June 10, 1935

Alcoholics Anonymous founded

Summer 1935

Comintern sets Popular Front line; CPUSA follows suit

September 30, 1935

Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* opens

36 February 5, 1936

Chaplin's *Modern Times* opens

June 1936

Gone With the Wind sells 1 million copies in 6 months

July 17, 1936

Fascist rebellion in Spain begins; La Pasionaria will declare, "They shall not pass"

Summer 1936

Jesse Owens wins four gold medals at Berlin Olympics; Hitler fumes

November 3, 1936

FDR defeats Alf Landon

November 3, 1936

Thomas (Socialist) receives over 187,000 votes; Browder (CP) over 80,000

1936

In France 300,000 workers stage sit-down strikes

1936

Tampon first mass-marketed

1936

90 percent of rural homes have electricity following Rural Electrification Act

1936

Last volume of John Dos Passos's *USA* trilogy

1936

John Maynard Keynes's *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*

TIMELINE

1936

WPA Federal Arts Project employs over 5,000 artists

1936

WPA Federal Writers Project starts American Guide Series

1936-38

Moscow show trials split US left

37 February 11, 1937

GM recognizes UAW after Flint sit-down strike

February 1937

National Lawyers Guild founded as alternative to ABA

May 26, 1937

Company cops beat up UAW leaders at River Rouge, Michigan

May 31, 1937

Ten strikers killed by police at Republic Steel

June 16, 1937

Marc Blitzstein's *The Cradle Will Rock* opens

July 22, 1937

Senate kills FDR's "court-packing" bill

August 2, 1937

FDR signs Marihuana Taxation Act

November 27, 1937

Garment workers produce musical *Pins and Needles*

1937

Partisan Review refounded

38 January 10, 1938

Ludlow Resolution (national referendum on going to war) buried

May 26, 1938

House Committee on Un-American Activities formed

June 25, 1938

Wages and Hours Act bans child labor, sets 40-hour week

1930s

Sitdown

The rank-and-file movement [of the United Rubber Workers in Akron, Ohio] really got under way in a curious and particularly American way. The story goes that one Sunday afternoon a couple of baseball teams composed of workers employed in two big rubber factories suddenly refused to play a scheduled game because they found out that the umpire...was not a union man. The players just *sat down* literally,...while the crowd, consisting mainly of workingmen...generally raised a merry din, till the non-union umpire withdrew and a union man called the game. It is said that the expression "sit-down" was first used in the discussions that followed that game.

Not long afterward a petty dispute over a point in work-

ing conditions developed between the workers—[about a dozen in all]—and the superintendent of a department in one of the great rubber factories.... [R]emembering the sitdown at the ball game, one of them blurted out, "Aw, to hell with 'im, let's sit down!"...

...In no time the most important departments of the factory were at a standstill. Thousands of workers sat down. Some because they wanted to, more because everything stopped anyhow.

And sitting by their machines, caldrons, boilers, and work benches, they talked. Some realized for the first time how important they were in the process of rubber production. Twelve men had practically stopped the works!

—Louis Adamic, *December 5, 1936*

New generations have to learn each time from their own experience—but they do not begin from the beginning, nor do they learn everything all over again....

The great tradition permeates the very marrow of the workers and facilitates the selection of the road.

—Leon Trotsky, "Revolutionary Interlude in France," August 8, 1936

The Tragedy of the Political Exiles

The barbarity of fascism and Nazism is being condemned and fought by the persons who have remained perfectly indifferent to the Golgotha of the Russian political. And not only indifferent; they actually justify the barbarities of the Russian dictatorship as inevitable. All these good people are under the spell of the Soviet myth.... A recent appeal of the International Workingmen's Association gives a heart-breaking picture of the condition of Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists in Stalin's stronghold. Renewed arrests in Odessa, Tomsk, Archangel, and other parts of Russia have taken place.... No charge whatever is made against the victims. Without hearing or trial they have been sent away...to isolated parts.... [T]here is no hope of liberation during the much-praised Communist experiment.

—Emma Goldman, October 10, 1934

That the fate of an empire embracing one-fourth of the world's surface and population should hang so perilously on a woman's attraction for a man is an undreamed-of triumph for the romanticists and a vindication of the "Cleopatra's nose" school of history.

—Editorial, "Mrs. Simpson and the Constitution," December 12, 1936

Dust Changes America

In a rising sand storm cattle quickly become blinded. They run around in circles until they fall and breathe so much dust that they die. Autopsies show their lungs caked with dust and mud. Farmers dread the birth of calves during a storm. The newborn animals will be dead within twenty-four hours.

—Margaret Bourke-White, May 22, 1935



Cook

From "Harry Bridges: Rank-and-File Leader," by Louis Adamic, 5/6/36



William Gropper

From "It's War in Youngstown," by Rose M. Stein, 7/3/37

A few of the women got tired and sat down to rest upon the boxes bearing "No Trespassing" signs. The police began to chase them and an argument ensued. "We'll show you," growled one of the officers and began to shoot tear-gas. There were screams, shouts, turmoil, and in the midst of this excitement bullets began to fly.

—Rose M. Stein, on the Little Steel strike

I Accuse the Hitler Regime

The mystery of the Word is great; the responsibility for it and its purity is of a symbolic and spiritual kind; it has not only an artistic but also a general ethical meaning; it is responsibility itself, human responsibility quite simply, also the responsibility for one's own people, the duty of keeping pure its image in the sight of humanity. In the Word is involved the unity of humanity, the wholeness of the human problem, which permits nobody, today less than ever, to separate the intellectual and artistic from the political and social, and to isolate himself within the ivory tower of the "cultural" proper....

A German author accustomed to this responsibility of the Word...should he be silent, wholly silent, in the face of the inexpiable evil that is done daily in his country to bodies, souls, and minds, to right and truth, to men and mankind?... It was not possible for me to be silent.

—Thomas Mann, March 6, 1937

Fairy Tale in Five Acts

I can remember no finer moment in any film than this one when at sunrise in the forest the banks of eyes which have looked so sinister all night turn out to belong to rabbits, fawns, chipmunks, bluebirds, and turtles. The transition is from shadowy evil to the clearest and most blithesome benevolence. The antics of these charming beasts vary henceforth between the beatific and the absurd; the pride of the baby bluebird in his voice, the ticklish turtle offering his belly for a washboard when Snow White starts housecleaning for the dwarfs, and the squirrels undoing cobwebs with their tails are but understatements of the very touching love for Snow White which they share with a helpless audience. Then there are the dwarfs—in their seven foolish ways as irresistible as the heroine, and of course no less devoted to her than the animals are; though one of them, Grumpy, remains a misogynist almost to the end. Mr. Disney...lives somewhere near the human center and knows innumerable truths that cannot be taught.... [W]e can trust him with our hearts and wits.

—Mark Van Doren, on the premiere of Disney's first full-length film, January 22, 1937

Palestine Is Divided

Once the principle of partition is accepted, the details of the commission's plan stand out as a reasonable compromise. While territory assigned to the Jews represents a considerably greater value per inhabitant than the land assigned to the Arabs, the discrepancy will be partially made up by extensive irrigation projects in the Arab portion.

—Editorial, July 17, 1937

TIMELINE

September 30, 1938

Chamberlain signs Munich Agreement with Hitler, Mussolini

October 22, 1938

First xerographic image made

November 9, 1938

Kristallnacht—anti-Semitic violence by Nazis in Germany

December 18, 1938

Nazi scientists split uranium atom

January 20, 1939

Premiere of Charles Ives's *Concord* piano sonata

February 27, 1939

Supreme Court declares sit-down strikes illegal

March 28, 1939

Fall of Spanish Republic

July 10, 1939

Yankee Clipper makes first transatlantic passenger flight

August 23, 1939

Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact

September 1, 1939

Germany invades Poland

September 3, 1939

Great Britain, France declare war on Germany

October 11, 1939

FDR receives Einstein's letter warning of atomic bomb

November 30, 1939

Russia invades Finland

December 1939

Frank Lloyd Wright's Johnson Wax Research Tower

May 1940

George Seldes's *In Fact* founded

June 18, 1940

First issue of liberal newspaper *PM*

June 28, 1940

Smith Act passed

June 1940

937 Jewish refugees on SS *St Louis* turned away from NY harbor

November 5, 1940

FDR wins third term

December 1940

25.3 percent of labor force is female

1940

30 million US homes have radios

1940

Woody Guthrie's "This Land Is Your Land"

The CIO Moves On

All profound social change involves danger, and the deeper and more rapid the change the greater the danger. The CIO is the most progressive and vital force in American life today. But you cannot release such a force in the very heart of American industry without raising up all the powers of reaction against it. The student of American labor cannot hope to understand our labor movement from now on without realizing that the mass industries cannot be organized without audacity—and they cannot be left unorganized. From now on labor must live dangerously. Every situation is of a kind where the leadership must take chances. The sitdown is dangerous. The need for exercising increasing political pressure is dangerous. The need for exposing the AF of L scabocracy without antagonizing its rank and file is dangerous. The mere fact that a strike in a basic industry is not a mere strike but an economic stoppage of vast consequences is dangerous. Even the victories of the CIO will be dangerous, for it would be silly to suppose that the Liberty Leaguers who own our basic industries will yield without a desperate struggle.

—Benjamin Stolberg, February 20, 1937

TIMELINE

1940

Richard Wright's *Native Son*

41

January 6, 1941

FDR extols Four Freedoms (speech, worship, from fear, from want)

February 3, 1941

Supreme Court upholds Wages and Hours Act

May 1941

Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane*

June 20, 1941

Ford recognizes UAW

June 25, 1941

FDR signs executive order barring race discrimination in defense industries and government

December 15, 1941

AFL pledges no strikes in war plants

1941

Edward Hopper's *Nighthawks*

42

January 12, 1942

Supreme Court outlaws Georgia contract labor as peonage

January 20, 1942

Nazi conference at Wannsee plans genocide of European Jews

May 6, 1942

Philippines surrendered to Japanese

May 14, 1942

Women's Army Auxiliary Corps established

June 4-6, 1942

Decisive battle of Midway

August 23, 1942

Battle of Stalingrad begins

December 1, 1942

Britain's Beveridge Plan, blueprint for welfare state

December 30, 1942

Frank Sinatra begins at Paramount

Laughter in Madrid

The thing about living in Madrid these days is that you never know when a shell is going to fall. Or where. Any time is firing time for Franco.... Tomorrow Franco's big guns on the hills outside Madrid may decide to change their range-finders and bombard the city fan-wise, sending *quince-y-medios* from one side of town to the other. No matter in what section of the city you live, a shell may land in the kitchen of the sixth-floor apartment (whose inhabitants you've often passed on the stairs), penetrate several floors, and make its way to the street via your front room on the third floor....

Around the Cibeles Fountain in front of the Post Office the street cars still pass, although the fountain itself with its lovely goddess is now concealed by a specially built housing of bricks and sandbags, so that the good-natured Madrileños have nicknamed it "Beauty Under Cover," laughing at their own wit.

Yes, people still laugh in Madrid. In this astonishing city of bravery and death, where the houses run right up

to the trenches and some of the street-car lines stop only at the barricades, people still laugh, children play in the streets, and men buy comic papers as well as war news....

A million people living on the front lines of a nation at war! The citizens of Madrid—what are they like? Not long ago a small shell fell in the study of a bearded professor of ancient languages. Frantically his wife and

daughter came running to see if anything had happened to him. They found him standing in the center of the floor, holding the shell and shaking his head quizzically. "This little thing," he said, "this inanimate object, can't do us much damage. It's the philosophy that lies behind it, wife, the philosophy that lies behind it."

—Langston Hughes,
January 29, 1938

The Latest Anti-Jewish Horror

The remaining German Jews sit around waiting for their turn in the cattle cars. In Vienna, the Dutch papers report, eighty-two Jews, thirty-six of them women, have committed suicide in the last two weeks. That is what Hitler likes to hear. He can steal everything they leave. He would have Jews murdered out of hand, I have no doubt, if he dared. It would certainly be more merciful if he did.

[Since this article was written, a report has been received from the Netherlands that 40,000 Jews have already been herded into the "Jewish State" under such shocking conditions that typhus is rampant. A later dispatch, from Paris, indicates that the plan for the Lublin "reservation" has been abandoned in favor of a larger reservation of mixed Polish and Jewish population.

—EDITORS OF THE NATION.]

—Oswald Garrison Villard, December 30, 1939



"IF THE BRITISH DON'T, MAYBE WE WILL"

LOW

[Drawn before von Ribbentrop's visit to Moscow] 9/2/39

On May Day, while Communists marched in London with flaming banners proclaiming "Britain and Russia—the Hope of the World," the *New York Times* ran a dispatch from Berlin, "Another 'Little' War Believed German Aim. Victory over Poland Without a Break with Great Britain Would Meet Hopes of the Nazi Regime." On

May 3 the British Cabinet decided to reject the Russian offer of an alliance, and Chamberlain told the Commons he was ready to exchange non-aggression pledges with Germany.

—I.F. Stone, "Chamberlain's Russo-German Pact,"
September 23, 1939

1930s

TIMELINE

December 1942

Bing Crosby's "White Christmas" becomes bestselling single

43 January 11, 1943

Anarchist Carlo Tresca murdered in New York

January 17-27, 1943

Casablanca conference calls for unconditional surrender

February 2, 1943

Soviet victory at Stalingrad turning point of war

March 29, 1943

Meat, butter, cheese rationed in US

March 31, 1943

Oklahoma! first "integrated" musical

April 19, 1943

Warsaw Ghetto uprising begins

April 1943

Wendell Willkie's *One World* sells a million copies in two months

May 22, 1943

Comintern is dissolved

June 5-8, 1943

Chicanos beaten up in Los Angeles in zoot-suit riot

June 20-22, 1943

Race riot in Detroit

October 19, 1943

Paul Robeson stars in *Othello*

November 28, 1943

Teheran summit—FDR, Churchill give Stalin free hand in Poland

1943-44

Earl Browder calls for US-Soviet coexistence, end of class struggle

44 March 2, 1944

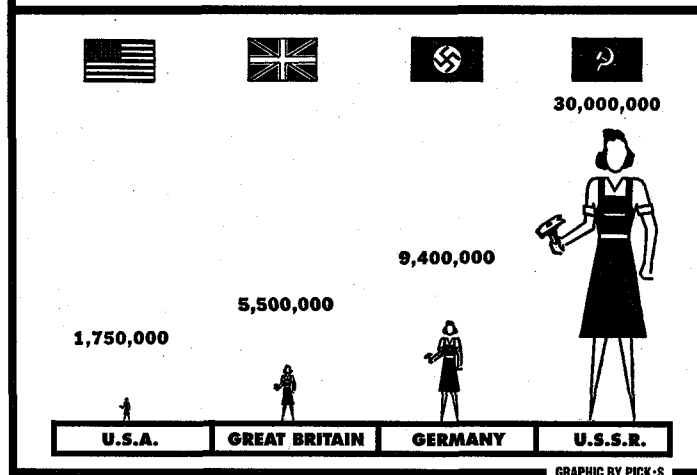
Casablanca wins Academy Awards

Why Roosevelt Won

Despite the sly distortions that streamed over the air from the Lindberghs and the Lewises; despite the conversion of certain shaken liberals to the Willkie cause—despite these things, a great majority of the American people went quietly to the polls and used their own good judgement.... In a world sick with fear and discouragement that decision is a tonic.

—Editorial, November 9, 1940

WOMEN IN WAR INDUSTRIES



"I could tell you that the sound of any woman's voice heard here is like a pain in the heart—not a sharp pain, but a really beastly, nagging pain, provided you have time for that kind of pain," the soldier said...

—Kaye Boyle, "Hotel Behind the Lines," June 9, 1945

Few Vote for Fordism

One of the rules [of the Ford empire] is that there shall be no smoking anywhere within the 12,000 acres of the River Rouge domain.... It is a projection of [Henry] Ford's personal asceticism. Smoking is prohibited in every nook and cranny of the place, including the foundry, where smoke and fire are always present, and the washrooms, where smoking could not possibly be harmful or dangerous.... There are no chairs,... [so] in the most highly mechanized production plant in the world men must squat on the floor to eat their lunch.... When a chair and a cigarette emerge as the two most immediate desires of a River Rouge worker, one realizes why 97.4 per cent of Ford's 78,000 employees leaped at the chance to tell him that they don't like being treated as automatons.

—Rose M. Stein, Letter to the Editor, June 14, 1941

Oscar Berger
7/31/48

Stalingrad and Dieppe

It is obvious that both the removal and the resettlement of loyal American citizens along with Japanese aliens have been badly bungled.

—Editorial, June 6, 1942

Children in later days will read about Stalingrad as they do now about Thermopylae or Hastings or Waterloo. But only persons alive today can sense, even faintly, the reality of that fierce epic....

Stalingrad still holds out as this issue goes to press. And the agony of the Russian resistance begins to touch the nerves of men and women as nothing has done since the siege of Madrid.... The unremitting ferocity of the attack; the resistance of the Russians that persists beyond all imagining; the knowledge that if Stalingrad falls, much more than a battle is lost—all this has helped break down the emotional defenses of the watching world. Stalingrad has ceased to be the name of a steel town in the Volga valley; it is Manchester, Chicago, Kansas City. Its body-strewn yards are our own; its desperate, valiant people—are they as we? Could we fight so strongly, die so well? We may have a chance to find out. Especially if Stalingrad falls.

—Freda Kirchwey, September 26, 1942

1940s

TIMELINE

May 20, 1944

CPUSA self-dissolves, campaigns for FDR

June 6, 1944

Normandy invasion

June 22, 1944

FDR signs GI Bill of Rights

July 1944

Bretton Woods conference leads to creation of International Monetary Fund, World Bank

October 30, 1944

Aaron Copland's *Appalachian Spring*

December 1944

Wartime corporate profits \$10.8 billion (\$6.4 billion in 1940)

1944

More strikes than any previous year in US history

1944

Dwight Macdonald founds *Politics*

45

January 26, 1945

Red Army liberates Auschwitz

February 13–14, 1945

Up to 60,000 civilians die in Dresden bombing firestorm

April 11, 1945

Patton liberates Buchenwald

April 12, 1945

FDR dies

April 24, 1945

United Nations founded

April 25, 1945

US and Red armies meet at Torgau; Red Army enters Berlin

May 8, 1945

Germany surrenders

May–December, 1945

Wartime civilian controls ended

1940s

For the Jews—Life or Death?

As I write, the morning papers carry a dispatch from Lisbon reporting that the “deadline”—the idiom was never more literal—has passed for the Jews of Hungary. It is approaching for the Jews of Bulgaria, where the Nazis yesterday set up a puppet regime.

I need not dwell upon the authenticated horrors of the Nazi internment camps and death chambers for Jews. That is not tragic but a kind of insane horror.... The tragic element in the fate of the Jews of Europe lies in the failure of their friends in the West to...fight as hard for the big words we use, for justice and for humanity, as the fanatic Nazi does for his master race or the fanatic Jap for his Emperor....

“Free ports” in Turkey are needed, but the Turks...are unwilling to do for Jewish refugees what we ourselves are still unwilling to do, that is, give them a temporary haven.... And the longer we delay the fewer Jews there will be left to rescue.... Between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 European Jews have been killed since August, 1942, when the Nazi extermination campaign began....

It is a question of Mr. Roosevelt’s courage and good faith. All he is called upon to do, after all, is what Franco did months ago, yes, *Franco*. Franco established “free ports,” internment camps, months ago for refugees who fled across his border, refugees, let us remember, from his own ally and patron, Hitler.

—I.F. Stone, June 10, 1944

In a period in which
illusions of every kind are
being destroyed the
illusionist methods of art
must also be renounced.

—Clement Greenberg,
“Abstract Art,” April 15, 1944

The five great incendiary attacks on Japan’s chief cities are proof enough that the B-29...is fit to take its place as one of the most powerful weapons of the war. Flying out three hundred strong the Superfortresses...attacked Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya again.... [T]he use of the fearsome gasoline-jell M-69 incendiary in such large clusters can do nothing less than devastate a large area. (The bomb weighs six pounds, burns for eight to ten minutes at above 3,000 Fahrenheit, and clings “tenaciously to any surface.”...) This is...especially effective in cities where so many buildings house subassembly benches for war productions. Bombers won’t win the war against Japan, but the increased tempo of these attacks...will mean a much-softened enemy when the troops go in. —Editorial, March 24, 1945

[The firebombing of Tokyo killed more civilians than any single military action in the war. It would have been ruled a war crime had the Allies not been the victors.]



Oscar Berger
3/23/46

Films

Apparently “Casablanca,” which I must say I liked, is working up a rather serious reputation as a fine melodrama. Why? It is obviously an improvement on one of the world’s worst plays; but it is not such an improvement that that is obvious. Any doubters should review the lines of Claude Rains. Bogart, Henreid, Veidt, Lorre, Sakall, and a colored pianist whose name I forget were a lot of fun, and Ingrid Bergman was more than that.... Thanks to a friend, moreover, I can now quote two lines which I snickered at and then, I blush to say, forgot. One, Miss Bergman’s plea to her husband, takes the season’s prize for exposition: “Oh, Victor, please don’t go to the underground meeting tonight.” The other, more tender, is Miss Bergman’s too, just after she collapses on to the sofa with Humphrey Bogart: “From now on you’ll have to do the thinking for both of us, dear.”

—James Agee, February 20, 1943

Theatre

In Shakespeare’s conception the essential quality of the Moor is his foreignness. He is the exotic character—so exotic as to bewitch, for all his denials, the innocent English—not Venetian—Desdemona. The stress upon his blackness points up his alien, not his racial, character. There is no particular reason why a Negro should not play Othello or, for that matter, why a Negro should. Color aside, Robeson is simply not the type. The exotic quality is missing.

—Margaret Marshall, on Paul Robeson’s Broadway debut as Othello, October 23, 1943

Ernie Pyle

Pyle, the most popular war correspondent for his accounts of the ordinary soldier, was killed by machine-gun fire on the Japanese island of Ieshima.

Though our victory in this war is better than our defeat, though there is a difference between the two sides that is essential, still what has to be done, the actual substance of the war is almost entirely evil. The sergeant says to Pyle about the replacements: "I know it ain't my fault they get killed, and I do the best I can for them. But I've got so I feel like it's me killing 'em instead of a German. I've got so I feel like a murderer." For Pyle, to the end, killing was murder; but he saw the murderers die themselves.

His condemnation of war seems to the reader more nearly final than any other, because in him there is no exaggeration, no hysteria, no selection to make out a case, no merely personal emotion unrecognized as such; he has nothing to prove. He has written down all that is favorable or indifferent—his readers have noticed this most, the commonplace courage and endurance and affection of his soldiers; but after all this his condemnation is so complete, detailed, brought home to us so absolutely, that it is unforgettable and unarguable....

Is there any imaginable way in which the next quotation could be altered?

Our fighters moved on after the enemy, and those who did not fight, but moved in the wake of the battles, would not catch up for hours. There was nothing left behind but the remains—the lifeless debris, the sunshine and the flowers, and utter silence. An amateur who wandered in this vacuum at the rear of a battle had a terrible sense of loneliness. Everything was dead—the men, the machines, the animals—and he alone was left alive.

—Randall Jarrell, May 19, 1945

Films

We cannot bear to face our knowledge that the satisfaction of our desire for justice, which we confuse with our desire for vengeance, is impossible. And so we invent as a victim the most comprehensive image which our reason, however deranged, will permit us: the whole of a people and the descendants of that people; and count ourselves incomparably their superior because we stop short of the idea of annihilation.

—James Agee, on public reaction to Nazi atrocity films, and calls for a peace of vengeance, May 19, 1945

India Drifts Toward Civil War

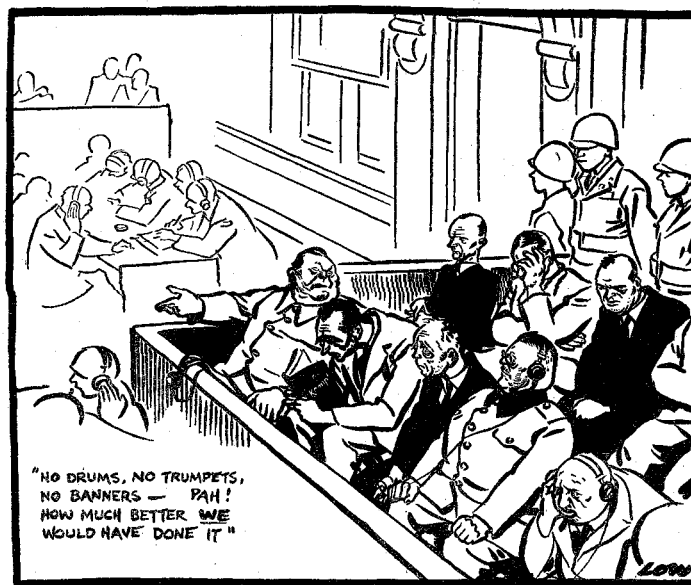
Gandhi may wander around India preaching the cult of non-violence, the unity of India, and the gospel of forgiveness—verily a modern Buddha—but how many, though they may admire or even worship him, practice his teachings? It is no secret that private armies are being formed. Crude bombs, hand grenades, flame-throwers, and rifles, not to mention knives and swords, are coming into common use when riots break out.... India may still ride out the storm. But a storm there is bound to be.

—Shiva Rao, May 31, 1947

Israel at First Glance

One of the wisest men in Israel, a man whose life has been spent in intimate association with Arabs and who had always believed in the possibility of close and understanding relations with them, told me his views had been forcibly changed by their behavior. "We will not take them back," he said, "except perhaps in limited numbers. They have forfeited all claim on us. Those that have stayed shall have every right of a citizen of Israel; those that went, none."

—Freda Kirchwey, December 4, 1948



NUREMBERG

Low

12/15/45

Communist betrayal of the struggle of the Greek people against fascism and exploitation, American support for the forces consolidating the same fascism and exploitation—that is the history of Greece during the past five years.

—Constantine Poulos, "Greece: Betrayal as Usual," October 29, 1949

TIMELINE

June 21, 1945

Japanese surrender Okinawa with 100,000 dead vs. 13,000 GIs

July 16, 1945

A-bomb tested at Alamogordo, NM

July 1945

Browder out, Foster heads CPUSA

July 1945

Intercepted radio transmissions show Japan will surrender

August 6, 9, 1945

A-bombs dropped on Hiroshima, Nagasaki, killing 240,000 civilians

August 14, 1945

Japanese surrender

September 1945

Truman calls for national health insurance, civil rights legislation

October 29, 1945

Ballpoint pen goes on sale

November 1945

Ebony begins publication

1945

Penicillin marketed

46 February 1946

ENIAC starts computer revolution

May 1946

US troops seize railroads, coal mines

July 1, 1946

A-bomb tests at Bikini Atoll

July 4, 1946

Philippines gains independence

July 5, 1946

Bikini swimsuit modeled in Paris

October 9, 1946

Eugene O'Neill's *The Iceman Cometh* opens

November 20, 1946

Balanchine's *Four Temperaments*

November 23, 1946

French bomb Haiphong, starting Vietnam War

1946

"Automation" of Ford assembly line

1946

Forever Amber unbanned in Boston

47 May 22, 1947

Truman signs Greek-Turkish Aid bill

June 5, 1947

Secretary of State Marshall proposes plan for US aid to Europe

August 15, 1947

India gains independence; partition of Pakistan sets off bloodbath

TIMELINE

October 5, 1947

First presidential address on TV

December 3, 1947

Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* opens

1947

Soviets revive Comintern as Cominform

1947

US sends massive aid to prop up right-wing Greek government

1947

HUAC investigation of Hollywood heats up; blacklist begins

48 January 12, 1948

Supreme Court bars discrimination by Oklahoma U. law school

January 30, 1948

Gandhi assassinated

February 25, 1948

Communists in Czechoslovakia seize power

March 15, 1948

Coal miners strike for better pensions

April 1948

Truman approves Marshall Plan aid; over \$13 billion will be spent

May 14, 1948

Establishment of the State of Israel

May 25, 1948

GM-UAW contract with automatic cost-of-living increase

June 20, 1948

Ed Sullivan Show debuts

June 24, 1948

Truman signs peacetime draft

June 26, 1948

Berlin airlift begins

1940S

People...discover with relief that they are not outcasts, not psychopaths, not criminals, when they masturbate or enjoy other "abnormal" sexual outlets.... If this relief from tension and guilt can be bought for \$6.50, it is a most happy accomplishment.

—Martin Gumpert, "The Kinsey Report," May 1, 1948

The Grand Inquisition

If a Congressional committee can investigate ideas in the movies, it can investigate them in the press. The purpose is to terrorize all leftists, liberals, and intellectuals; to make them fearful in the film, the theater, the press, and any school of advanced ideas the Thomas committee can stigmatize as "red."... [T]he committee is out to give the moguls of the industry no rest until they not only take from the screen what little liberal and social content it has, but turn to making films which would prepare the way for fascism at home and war abroad. There were two revealing moments in the producers' testimony. Jack Warner, explaining the "subtle" methods of "red" screen writers, said, "They have the routine of the Indians and the colored folks. That is always their setup." And when Louis B. Mayer said he was going to start making some "anti-Communist films promptly," Thomas leaned forward with a grin and asked, "These hearings haven't anything to do with the promptness, have they?"

—I.F. Stone, November 8, 1947

25 Years of American Sensuality

With every step in the breakdown of restraints business has become more irritating, sociability more difficult, and friendship more precarious.... Indivuality seems eccentric, offensive, and is repressed. The result is that to be a friend is no different from being an acquaintance; to do business is no different from having a party; to act as host is no different from advertising and selling the latest facilities; to taste and enjoy is no different from squaring one's mind with public opinion.

—Jacques Barzun, March 27, 1948

Asia's Tito?

I asked Ho Chi Minh whether Viet Nam could "completely resist" the pulls of the cold war. He replied with a blunt "Yes!" He was equally positive that it was possible "to be neutral or semi-neutral" between the two great blocs, thus differing sharply from Mao Tse-tung. He admitted that the Chinese Communist victories represented "a shift in the Asian balance of power," but, he added, "Viet Nam will always rely on its own strength."...

"The Viet Nam Republic," he continued, "will be 'of the people, by the people, and for the people.'"

What, I asked, would be his reaction if the United States underwrote the Franco-Bao Dai military offensive against his forces? "We don't like to suppose that the United States would sponsor French imperialism," he replied; "that would be unwise and un-American."

—Andrew Roth, September 9, 1949

What kind of cities do we want? Cities in which man

is at home again—at home in an orderly and comely environment cut to the human measure.

—Lewis Mumford, "Cities Fit to Live In," May 15, 1948

A Triumph for Civil Disobedience

An organized resistance to the draft by America's largest minority...the enunciation of the civil-disobedience idea...accounts for the issuance of the President's executive order abolishing discrimination in the armed services....

It wasn't until Mr. [A. Philip] Randolph and I laid down the civil-disobedience "ultimatum" that the [Senate Armed Services Committee]... came to life and seemed to realize that here was something new to contend with.... It can be said, unequivocally, that it startled white America more than any other "racial" event in many years, including the most brutal lynchings.... For, in that brief hour's testimony, we informed the nation and the world that segregation was reaching an unbearable point. The response we received shows that Negroes are now ready, in 1948, to go beyond the discussion, petition and protest stage.

—Grant Reynolds, August 28, 1948



Seligson

From "The Ordeal of Alger Hiss," by Robert Bendiner, 2/11/50

At the HUAC "confrontation" starring Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers, the air was heavy with the ominous and ultimate charges of modern history: treason, espionage, and insanity.

—Thomas Sancton, "The Case of Alger Hiss," September 4, 1948

TIMELINE

July 22, 1948

Henry Wallace becomes
Progressive candidate for President

July 26, 1948

Truman order bars segregation
in armed forces

October 18, 1948

National Guardian founded

November 3, 1948

"Dewey Defeats Truman"
—*Chicago Tribune*

November 4, 1948

Truman Defeats Dewey
—Voters

November 4, 1948

Racist Strom Thurmond polls
1.1 million

1948

GATT established

1948

Christian Dior's "New Look"
protested in US

1948

Alfred Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior
in the Human Male*

1948

Singing group The Weavers
formed

49 February 10, 1949

Arthur Miller's *Death of a
Salesman* opens

April 4, 1949

NATO treaty signed

May 1949

Monthly Review founded

September 23, 1949

Truman announces Soviet
A-bomb test

October 1, 1949

Steel strike for better
pensions

1950s

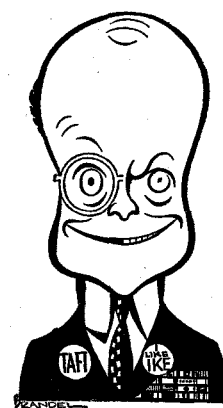
China's Impact

Communist China was born of a struggle not only between two rival factions or two opposing political conceptions, but between the 85 per cent of Chinese who wanted to be sure of getting their daily bowl of rice and the 15 per cent who, supported by foreign capital, wanted to go on living in luxury at the expense of the others. Anyway, Americans cannot with good grace complain if the Chinese decided to take seriously their denunciations of colonialism and poverty....

Whether we like it or not, there is leadership, a plan, and a determination hitherto unknown. Collective action, organized and directed by a centralized executive, draws upon the potential energies of 425,000,000 human beings. Nothing comparable has happened in China for 800 years.

—J. Alvarez del Vayo, March 6, 1954

Colonialism is evil. Not liking evil, we do not choose to remain colonials forever and be forever exploited, overtly or covertly. We want liberty. Count Leo Tolstoy wrote: "I sit on a man's back, choking him and making him carry me and yet assure myself and others that I am very sorry for him and wish to ease his lot by all possible means—except by getting off his back." What a fitting description of the relationship between the peoples of Africa and Europe!

—M.O.M. Maduagwu, *"Africa: The Last Stronghold,"* January 1, 1955

Brandel

Eisenhower, 3/22/52

The Cohorts of Fear

The vitality of American liberalism is not to be measured by the volume of indignation directed against McCarthyism or against the outpouring of ex-Communists bent on expiating their past sins. It is easy to attack such inviting targets... [and] many a liberal or independent radical feels his job is done when he lands a direct hit on either one.... As for the refugees from the far left, the harm they do is just as grave, for they clothe their fanaticism in the lingo of liberalism and, like all psychotics, seek the destruction of what they fear within themselves.... From both—but from the McCarthys in particular—stems also the epidemic of official timidity that has turned too many liberal public men into cringing facsimiles of their enemies on the right.

—Freda Kirchwey, April 14, 1951

Ben Shahn

From "Will Joe Bolt the G.O.P.?" by
Edgar Kemler, 5/15/54

TIMELINE

October 14, 1949

11 Communists sentenced under Smith Act

1949

Pacifica's KPFA begins broadcasting

1949

Greek left-wing rebellion crushed

1949

Automatic cotton picker goes into mass production

1949

LP records go on market

1949

George Orwell's *1984*

1949

Simone de Beauvoir's *Le Deuxième Sexe*

50 January 25, 1950

Alger Hiss found guilty of perjury in second trial

February 7, 1950

McCarthy claims list of 205 Communists in government

June 25, 1950

North Korea invades South

June 29, 1950

US troops sent to Korea

October 7, 1950

US forces invade North Korea

November 26, 1950

200,000 Chinese Communist troops enter Korea

1950

Hollywood blacklistees imprisoned

1950

American Express card introduced

1950

David Riesman, Reuel Denney, Nathan Glazer's *The Lonely Crowd*

1950s

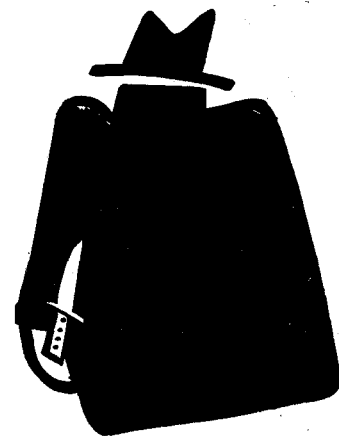
Liberation by Death

The Korean War forced a revision of the magazine's World War II position on the relative value and morality of air war.

Some day soon the American mind, mercurial and impulsive, tough and tender, is going to react against the horrors of mechanized warfare in Korea. It will take time. We were all hardened by the methods of mass-slaughter practiced first by the Germans and Japanese and then, in self-defense, adopted and developed to the pitch of perfection illustrated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the Western allies and, particularly, the Americans. We became accustomed to "area" bombing, "saturation" bombing, all the hideous forms of strategic air war aimed at wiping out not only military and industrial installations but whole populations. By the time the first atom bomb burst over Hiroshima it was possible to still the sharp voice of warning, and even the anxious whisper of conscience, by calculating the greater numbers that would have died if the bomb had not been dropped. The calculations, as it turned out, were probably wrong; but even if they were not, something else was.

The damage remains.... [I]t explains the absence of protest against the orgy of agony and destruction now in progress in Korea.... the vast slaughter of civilians, the burning of whole villages.... the systematic destruction of factories and water systems and transportation facilities—down, almost to the last ox-cart.

—Freda Kirchwey, March 10, 1951



Artist Unknown

From "The Dulles Brothers in Diplomania," by Charles Edmundson, 11/9/57

President Eisenhower's June 16 statement to the press, in which he described the situation in Guatemala as belonging to a pattern which "we had looked at with great displeasure in more than one country," seemed to indicate that the "roll-back" policy, which so far had not been possible to apply in Eastern Europe, was due for a trial closer to home.

—J. Alvarez del Vayo, "Aggression Is the Word," June 26, 1954

Evita: Power Behind Perón

Evita Perón represented the spirit of vengeance, of unscrupulous violence, of cold and implacable terror, which has condemned thousands of Argentines to hunger, exile, prison, torture, and death. To her are due the first persecutions of artists, intellectuals, and politicians, whom she had hated since the days when she was an unsuccessful actress. A mere order from her was enough to doom these people to starvation.

It was she who, with the easy and condescending cooperation of her husband, attacked the unions, overcame the resistance of the old leaders, used the police to break up strikes, and filled the jails with hundreds of militant workers....

Upon her tomb the Argentines would write—if they could: "Love was unknown to her."

—Fermin Gonzalez, Letter to the Editor, August 9, 1952

Why "Operation Dixie" Failed

"Operation Dixie" was the CIO's vast organizing campaign in the South.

Some Taft-Hartley supporters say the C.I.O.'s failure is explained by the "simple fact" that Southern textile mill hands "don't want unions." But if this were so, employers would not need to oppose union organization. If the mill hands "don't want unions," why did they carry on a succession of strikes lasting from a few weeks to nearly two years in the fight for recognition and contracts? How did the T. W. U. A. manage to win twenty-eight of the first twenty-nine union-shop elections held under the Taft-Hartley law in plants where it is strongly established? Why did the legislatures of Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia feel moved to pass laws going beyond Taft-Hartley to forbid union shops completely?

Some effects of Taft-Hartley, in point of fact, can be easily measured. In the two years before the statute was passed, the T. W. U. A. won seventy-six representation elections covering 22,872 workers. In the two following years it won only twenty-eight elections covering 5,104 workers.

—Willard Shelton, April 29, 1950

Mercy for the Rosenbergs

Whether Julius and Ethel Rosenberg live or die, their case will be tried over and over again in the minds of people everywhere.... We have not yet hardened ourselves to endure the ruthless dictates of "political justice"; we still reject concepts of vengeance and exemplary punishment. If the Rosenbergs die, we shall feel that both concepts presided at their execution.

—Editorial, January 10, 1953

In 1952, there were nearly 1,900 deaths from polio among youngsters under the age of twenty, but over 20,000 in this age group alone were killed in accidents and nearly 4,500 died from cancer.

—Eric Josephson, "Why the Dimes March On," November 10, 1956

Intervention in Indo-China

The Nation's opposition to intervention in Vietnam can be traced back to 1948, with its criticism of French colonialism. It would take until the 1960s for that critique to be set within the context of morality and anti-imperialism.

Indo-China is not Korea. In the Korean tragedy American intervention had the sanction of international legal and moral doctrine. It is not China, where at least there was a sovereign government to aid. Of course ethical consistency may be of no consequence in dealing with Communists, but more than that is involved here. It is the prospect of tremendous additional waste of material and life in vain. For it is almost mathematically predictable that large-scale American intervention in this colonial war, which has already cost almost as much in casualties and treasure as Korea, could not accomplish its political aims.

—Edgar Snow, April 24, 1954



Artist Unknown

From "Our Strangling Highways," by David Cort, 4/28/56

Phoenix Pyre

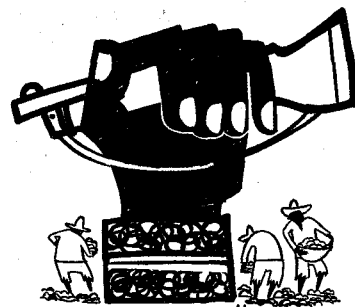
Must every new national power, as it emerges in Asia, the Middle East and Africa, learn to live with its neighbors only after it has fought with them?... Are the older imperial powers incapable of learning anything from past follies? The recent behavior of France and Britain prompts the thought that old nations, like some old men, must have a final fling of folly and wickedness before they will accept the mandates of their own experience.

—Editorial,
on occasion of the Suez crisis,
November 10, 1956

Hungary Suppressed

Few post-war events have touched the conscience of man as much as the revolt and repression in Hungary; few have shaken the Red world as badly. The recent parade of Chinese intellectuals who have publicly confessed to "deviationism" have frankly traced their heresy to the Budapest barricades. When Dr. Wolfgang Harrich, the young Marxist theoretician, was brought to trial on charges of plotting revolution in East Germany, he was pointedly linked with the Hungarian rebels. In Poland, the most devastating criticism of Soviet high-handedness could be found in Communist organs, and in Yugoslavia no one had seen such popular resentment since the day Tito was read out of the Soviet fraternity. In the West, Communists by the tens of thousands tore up their party cards.

—Editorial, August 31, 1957



Artist Unknown

From "Haiti Under the Gun," by Carleton Beals, 7/6/57

TIMELINE

- 51 April 11, 1951
Truman fires MacArthur
- June 4, 1951
Supreme Court upholds Smith Act
- December 1, 1951
Electricity generated by atomic energy
- 1951
UNIVAC computer used by Census Bureau
- 1951
Mattachine Society founded
- 52 June 2, 1952
Supreme Court rules Truman steel industry takeover unconstitutional
- June 27, 1952
McCarran-Walter immigration act passes over Truman veto
- September 23, 1952
Nixon's "Checkers" speech
- November 1, 1952
US explodes first H-bomb
- November 4, 1952
Eisenhower elected President
- 1952
Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*
- 53 January 3, 1953
Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* opens in Paris
- January 1953
One, first gay magazine, published
- March 5, 1953
Stalin dies
- July 27, 1953
Korean armistice signed
- August 19, 1953
CIA coup ousts Mossadegh in Iran
- December 1953
Playboy founded
- 54 January 12, 1954
Secretary of State Dulles announces "massive retaliation" doctrine
- March 1, 1954
Puerto Rican nationalists shoot up House
- April 22, 1954
Army-McCarthy hearings begin
- May 7, 1954
Vietnamese defeat French at Dien Bien Phu
- June 29, 1954
CIA overthrows Arbenz in Guatemala

Levittown

Levitt has been called the Henry Ford of the housing industry; he mass-produces his houses in "cycles." First, a team of bulldozers scoops out a block of perhaps fifty foundation excavations; a crew follows to lay down the foundations; another crew sets up the walls in assembly-line fashion....

The other day I dropped into a Levittown office and applied for a house. "But," I told the salesman, "there's something I want to ask you about that's very important to me." The salesman lifted a reassuring hand. "You mean the talk that's going around about colored people living here?" he asked. "Listen, this is the point of sale—strictly between you and me—and believe me, we sell to whites only, mister."

—Charles R. Allen, Jr., May 31, 1952

There are times when Mme de Beauvoir seems to resort to a form of shock therapy. Concerning the connection—or lack of it—between love and marriage, she says that adultery is "the form that love will assume as long as the institution of marriage lasts." There are some who consider such a notion a product of neurotic anxiety.

—Patrick Mullahy, review of *The Second Sex*, by Simone de Beauvoir, February 21, 1953

The Nation's Century

One hundred significant events of the 20th century in terms of freedom, human rights and social justice

1900s

1900–02: The century opens with the United States engaged in a war to suppress the movement for independence in the Philippines in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, which launched America as an imperialist power. First of many US interventions in what will be called the Third World.

1903: Publication of *The Souls of Black Folk* by W.E.B. Du Bois with its prophecy, "the problem

1905: Founding of Industrial Workers of the World, which seeks to organize workers in a single union undivided by craft, sex or race and dedicated to class struggle. Its free-speech fights (1908–11) begin process of making civil liberties a major public concern in twentieth-century America.

1908: Introduction of Model T Ford, harbinger of "Fordist" model of mass production, mass consumption and vast social changes automobile will produce.

1912: "Bread and Roses" strike of textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, led by IWW and remarkable for full participation of women, reveals militancy and solidarity of unskilled immigrant industrial workers.

1912: Four-way presidential campaign focuses on issue of impact of growing corporate power on American democracy. Progressive Party platform sets agenda for a half-century of modern liberalism, including democratic reform, government regulation of labor conditions and minimum

opens first US birth-control clinic in Brooklyn and is arrested; after thirty days in jail she founds New York Birth Control League.

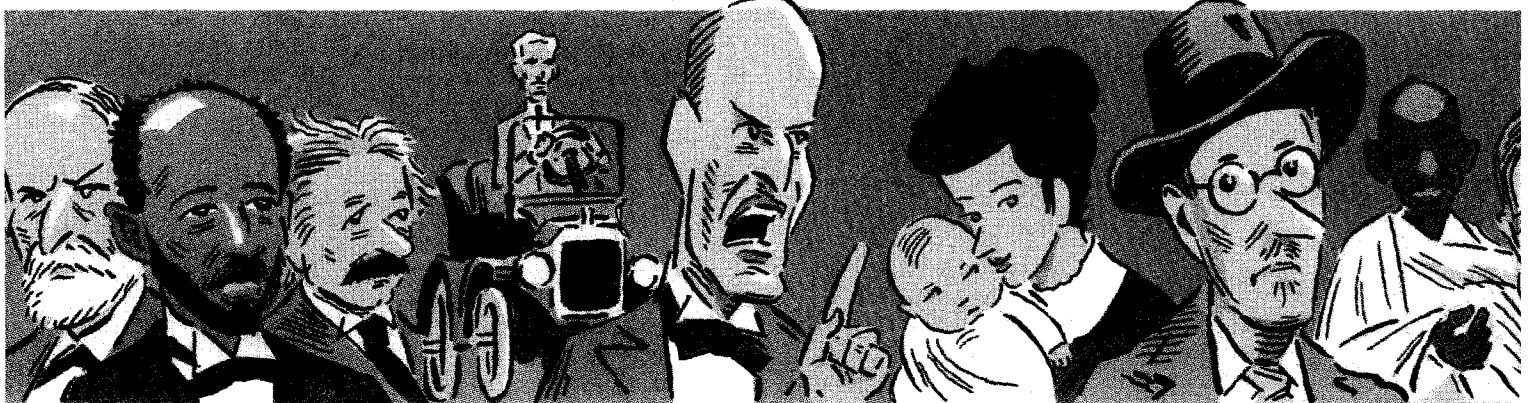
1917: United States enters World War I: Socialists oppose US participation, attempting to resurrect principle of working-class internationalism abandoned by European Socialist leaders in 1914 when they chose to support their respective nations in the war.

1917–18: Espionage and Sedition acts make criticism of war

1918: Serial publication of James Joyce's Modernist novel *Ulysses* begins in *Little Review*; magazine banned in 1922. Ban on novel lifted in 1933 on ground it is literature, not pornography.

1919: Palmer Raids, Red Scare, deportation of radicals in reaction to Bolshevik revolution in Russia and big business fears of a worker uprising in United States provoked by a wave of postwar strikes in basic industries.

1919–1920: Treaty of Versailles punishes Germany for war,



of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."

1903: Songwriter ("St. Louis Blues") and band leader W.C. Handy encounters "the weirdest music I had ever heard" while waiting for a train in Tutwiler, Mississippi; what he and others will popularize as the blues will become the most influential American musical idiom, inflecting jazz, rock and roll, soul and rhythm and blues.

1903: McClure's January issue publishes voluminously documented investigations by Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell and Ray Stannard Baker of civic corruption, Standard Oil, violence against nonstrikers, launching wave of muckraking journalism.

1910s

1910: NAACP, founded by black and white intellectuals, resumes battle for racial equality inherited from nineteenth-century abolition movement.

1910: National Sewing Machine Company introduces Happy Day Electric Home Laundry Machine, which, with electric vacuum cleaner (1901) transforms housework and women's daily lives.

1911: Publication of *Principles of Scientific Management*, by F. W. Taylor, a key document in effort by corporate management to exert full control over industrial work process.

wages, and right to collective bargaining. Socialist candidate Eugene V. Debs receives close to 1 million votes.

1913: Armory show introduces Cubism, Futurism (e.g., Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase*), Post-impressionism and other forms of modern art to United States.

1915: D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*, integrating spectacle and advanced film technique, marks coming of age of cinema as mass art form, even as it conveys brutally racist imagery of African-Americans during the Civil War and Reconstruction.

1916: Margaret Sanger, pioneer of family-planning movement,

policies of Wilson Administration federal crimes. Magazines deemed seditious by Postmaster General are banned from mails. Debs is jailed in 1918 for antiwar speeches, along with 900 others. US government breaks IWW by imprisoning its leaders.

1917: Beginning of "great migration" of blacks from South to North, redrawing racial map of nation.

1917: Mass movement of Russian workers and peasants topples Czar; Bolsheviks seize power in October Revolution, inspiring hopes of workers around the world for a new social and political order.

divests its colonies, imposes onerous reparations, planting seeds for next war. US refuses to join League of Nations. Other treaties redraw map of Europe. Treaty of Sèvres liquidates Ottoman Empire and carves up Middle East into states and mandates—beginning modern history of Middle East.

1920s

1920: Suffrage movement wins passage of 19th Amendment, enfranchising women; greatest expansion of democracy in American history.

1920: Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*, attack on conformity, provincialism, is opening gun

in literary rebellion of 1920s, a burst of innovation in style, language and sensibility in works by F. Scott Fitzgerald, T.S. Eliot, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, John Dos Passos, E.E. Cummings. Harlem writers and artists energize a black cultural renaissance.

1924: Johnson-Reed Act enshrines nativism and racism in immigration policy. Law eliminates Asian immigration and sets stringent quotas on immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

1925: Trial of John T. Scopes for teaching evolution in Dayton, Tennessee, dramatizes clash between science and religion, also an issue in theological debate between fundamentalists

1934–39: Dust storms ruin 100 million acres of farmland and force 350,000 "Okie" and "Arkie" farmers off their land and west to California.

1935–36: Dissidents from AFL found Congress of Industrial Organizations to target mass-production workers. Protesting a company speed-up and failure of their AFL union to back them, rubber workers in Akron, Ohio, sit down at machines. Sitdown strikes sweep United States; 400,000 workers participate.

1935–36: FDR introduces Second New Deal in response to worker unrest, labor's growing political power and continuing Depression. Social Security, National Labor Relations Act, minimum wage, eight-hour

decade for American left, which supports Republican side with money, propaganda, volunteers to fight in Spain. Western nations impose embargo, effectively squeezing Republicans while Germany and Italy aid Franco in preview of World War II.

1939: Hitler's Wehrmacht invades Poland, starting World War II. Nazi-Soviet Pact splits US left and ends era of Popular Front cooperation among Communists, liberals, labor, Democrats.

1940s

1941–45: US entry into World War II brings second great migration of Southern blacks to defense plants in North; wartime development of

arms race with Soviet Union; prospect of nuclear Armageddon gives rise to worldwide citizens movement to ban bomb.

1945: Opening of Nuremberg trials establishes principle of international accountability for crimes against humanity and brings Holocaust to public consciousness in United States.

1945–64: Worldwide anticolonial movements bring an end to empire and redrawing of global map, from six colonial powers and fifty-one recognized nations to 182 nations (1999). Dissolution of European empires leaves US unrivaled superpower in West.

1946: Three million workers strike throughout year; strikes are broken when Truman Administration seizes industries. Con-

support invasions, aid repressive regimes in the name of anti-Communism.

1947: Jackie Robinson breaks major league baseball's color line in debut with Brooklyn Dodgers.

1948: In New York, Abstract Expressionism gains prominence with a show of Willem de Kooning's works; Jackson Pollock makes first drip paintings. Movement signals emergence of America as dominant force in arts as well as politics.

1948: Signing of UN Declaration of Human Rights, crucial text in transnational efforts by NGOs and others to override sovereignty and implement international standards of human rights.



and modernists that rocks American Protestantism.

1927: Execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, immigrant anarchists, symbolizes nativism and repression of radicalism in 1920s, activates US left.

1929: Black Thursday, collapse of stock market, ends speculative economic boom of 1920s and ushers in crisis of modern capitalism.

1930s

1931: Nine young black men are accused of rape in Scottsboro, Alabama; their trials galvanize issue of racial inequality in justice system.

day mark beginning of American welfare state.

1935–40: Popular Front Culture—nourished by WPA programs for workers and ethnic theater, American guides, public murals—promotes politically committed expression, study of American musical idioms (e.g., jazz, folk songs, blues) and popular art forms like movies; documenting of ordinary lives in journalism, photography (e.g., James Agee and Walker Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*) and novels (e.g., John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, originating in his articles on Okies).

1936: Spanish Civil War becomes most passionate cause of

mechanical cotton picker forces many Southern black sharecroppers from land, a process that accelerates after war; migration of workers to defense plants in California and other centers produces demographic changes. 3.5 million additional women join work force (after war they are pressed to give jobs to men and return to homemaking)

1942: FDR signs Executive Order 9066 authorizing removal and internment of more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans on West Coast—most egregious wartime violation of constitutional rights.

1945: US drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Decision to use weapon leads to

gress passes Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, greatly reducing legal rights of labor.

1947: Truman Doctrine marks beginning of cold war and national security state, instituting a policy of worldwide containment of Communism, security programs to root out disloyal and "potentially disloyal" federal employees, to be followed by proliferation of loyalty oaths in education and private employment; opening of House Un-American Activities Committee witch hunt in Hollywood.

1947: Congress establishes CIA. Among other things, it will be used to thwart election of Communists in Europe, commit assassinations, foment coups,

1949: Mao Tse-tung's armies enter Beijing, culminating biggest peasant revolt in history. In America, Mao's victory (and Soviet A- bomb test) intensifies fears of Communism; his theories will captivate some on the left.

1950s

1951–55: Construction of Levittown, New York, symbolizes vast suburban development of postwar years. Exclusion of blacks from Levittown presages de facto segregation of suburbia. Cheap veterans' mortgages under GI Bill, mortgage deduction, Interstate highway construction, "urban renewal"—all hasten flight of white middle class from cities.

1953: James Watson and Francis Crick publish paper identifying structure of chromosomes and nature of DNA. Their findings advance understanding of heredity but will be commercially exploited by patenting of genes and introduction of genetically modified plants and animals into environment.

1953: Ethel and Julius Rosenberg electrocuted in first execution of American citizens for espionage in US history.

1954: Supreme Court, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, rules school segregation violates equal protection clause of 14th Amendment. Follow-up decision in 1955 ordering desegregation to occur "with all deliberate speed" opens door to massive resistance campaign in South.

following year—seminal works of Beat Generation.

1959: Fidel Castro's forces enter Havana, ending Batista dictatorship. Within two years, United States will clamp boycott on Cuba (still in place forty years later) and mount Cuban exile invasion at Bay of Pigs, followed by 1962 Soviet missile crisis.

1960s

1960: Sit-in at lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, by four black college students marks emergence of militant young people as catalysts of change in civil rights movement; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee founded.

lowest-common-denominator approach to programming.

1962–63: Publication of Students for a Democratic Society's Port Huron Statement, Michael Harrington's *The Other America*, Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time*, which announce end of "silent generation" of 1950s and emergence of new groups and issues on the stage of politics.

1962–66: Liberal Warren Court decisions expand rights of prisoners and criminal suspects, strengthen civil liberties and freedom of the press, and establish principle of one man, one vote.

1963: Assassination of John F. Kennedy inaugurates decade of

gress by Johnson Administration after never-proved attack by North Vietnamese torpedo boats on US warships.

1964: Free Speech movement at Berkeley launches era of unrest on college campuses.

1965: First large demonstrations against Vietnam War kick off greatest antiwar movement in American history.

1965–67: In time of racial and political turmoil, Lyndon Johnson's Great Society legislation—Medicare, Medicaid, Voting Rights Act, reform of immigration laws to eliminate racial and national quotas and other measures—expands citizenship, extends New Deal social programs to millions previously excluded.

Tokyo, among others. Columbia University students occupy campus buildings in an uprising protesting new gymnasium in area needing low-income housing.

1968: Women's liberation movement bursts into national consciousness via demonstration at Miss America pageant in Atlantic City; objects of "oppression"—brassieres, high-heeled shoes, copies of *Playboy*—are tossed into a "freedom trash can."

1969: Patrons at Stonewall Bar in New York City rebel against police harassment, marking emergence of militant movement for gay rights.

1969: First node of Arpanet, precursor of Internet, estab-



1955: Montgomery bus boycott, sparked by Rosa Parks's refusal to give up her seat to white rider as required by city segregation ordinance, led by labor, NAACP, local activists, marks emergence of civil rights movement; Martin Luther King Jr. becomes its national leader.

1956: Elvis Presley's "Heart-break Hotel" No. 1 on record charts, symbolizing popularity of rock and roll, a fusion of blues and hillbilly, which has injected a new beat and a new sexuality into moribund pop music.

1956: Allen Ginsberg publishes "Howl" and Jack Kerouac's novel *On the Road* appears

1960: Introduction of birth control pill, harbinger of "sexual revolution" and profound changes in relations between men and women.

1960: Andy Warhol's painting of Campbell's Soup can an early example of Pop Art, which portrays commercial and mass-culture images.

1961: With more than 42 million sets in 90 percent of American homes, television eclipses movies and press as source of entertainment and news. Newton Minow, head of Federal Communications Commission, proclaims it a "vast wasteland" and decries commercial exploitation of public's airwaves,

political assassinations, which include Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., Robert F. Kennedy and, by police forces and the FBI, members of the Black Panther Party.

1963: March on Washington is high-water mark of civil rights movement.

1963: Bob Dylan albums *The Freewheelin'* Bob Dylan and *The Times They Are a-Changin'* inject folk music into pop and political mainstream and reflect social ferment of civil rights and antiwar movements.

1964: Tonkin Gulf resolution—legal instrument for escalating US military intervention in Vietnam—pushed through Con-

1967–68: "Black Power" replaces "Nonviolence" as slogan of civil rights movement. More than 100 cities burn in "The Long Hot Summer"; hippies celebrate Summer of Love; King addresses economic underpinnings of racial inequality and moral outrage of Vietnam War; National Advisory Committee on Civil Rights warns that America is becoming "two societies."

1968: Tet offensive prefigures NLF victory in Vietnam and leads directly to Johnson's decision not to seek re-election.

1968: Wave of global student protests—most famously in Paris, also Mexico City and

lished, allowing separate computers to exchange large quantities of information.

1970s

1970: California grape boycott called by Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers dramatizes demands of low-wage Mexican migrant workers and attracts support from urban activists.

1971: Vietnam Veterans Against the War, some in wheelchairs, march in Washington in only mass protest of veterans to an ongoing war in US history. Opposition to war grows among troops in field. Lieut. William Calley tried for My Lai mas-

sacre, returned veterans hold "Winter Soldier" hearings on war crimes.

1971: "Pentagon Papers"—documents detailing secret history of US involvement in Vietnam—leaked by Daniel Ellsberg to *New York Times* in blow against government secrecy. Supreme Court rules Justice Department's attempt to stop publication is prior restraint violating freedom of the press.

1973: *Roe v. Wade* decision establishes woman's right to terminate a pregnancy on theory of privacy established in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) legalizing contraception.

1973: Members of Oglala Sioux tribe and American Indian

tors occupy site, starting antinuke movement. Accident at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania, in 1979, shatters government-industry myth of safe, cheap, clean nuclear energy.

1979: Nicaraguan revolution against US client Anastasio Somoza breaks US neocolonialist order in Central America, spurs creation of solidarity movement in United States and intervention by US government.

1980s

1981: Ronald Reagan takes office on a political program prefigured by Margaret Thatcher's 1979 victory in Britain. Reagan's destruction of PATCO heralds new corporate and

sponsors nuclear disarmament referendums adopted in thirty-six states.

1980s: Under pressure from IMF and World Bank, Third World countries turn to export economies, assume enormous, unsupportable debt to First World banks.

1985: R.J. Reynolds acquires Nabisco Brands for record \$4.9 billion, epitomizing "mergermania"—a wave of corporate consolidation often followed by "downsizing"—euphemism for mass layoffs to boost profits. Companies also shift manufacturing to Third World for cheaper wages.

1986: Meltdown at Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Soviet Union kills thousands, sends

backache's *perestroika* in Soviet Union and repudiation of military intervention. Berlin wall breached by thousands of protesters, many inspired by anti-nuclear movement's "détente from below."

1990s

1992–99: UN and/or US interventions in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo. Doctrine of "humanitarian intervention" developed as a rationale for projecting US military power overseas.

1994: Election of Nelson Mandela as president of South Africa, a triumph for the African National Congress after years of struggle and for worldwide anti-apartheid movement.

1996: President Clinton signs bill ending entitlement to welfare, abandoning Democratic Party's social democratic tradition inherited from New Deal.

1998: House of Representatives impeaches a President for second time in history.

1998: Arrest of dictator Augusto Pinochet in London for genocide and terrorism sets precedent in international human rights law.

1999: Protests at WTO meeting in Seattle by unions, environmentalists, religious, political, student activists symbolizes spreading international opposition to corporate globalization.



Movement "liberate" Wounded Knee to dramatize their demand that US government honor treaties with Native Americans.

1972–74: Watergate scandal involving Administration lies, abuses of power, leads to resignation of President Nixon and pervasive public disillusionment with government.

1973: OPEC oil embargo exposes heavy US dependence on Arab oil and triggers soaring oil prices (accompanied by soaring oil-company profits), inflation, recession, unemployment.

1977: Anti-nuclear power protest at Seabrook, New Hampshire; 2,000 demonstra-

government policy of militant anti-unionism and birth of neoconservatism, an attack on welfare state and on regulation of business in public interest.

1981: *New York Times* reports GRID (Gay Related Immune Deficiency)—many deaths among young gay men from Kaposi's sarcoma; beginning of AIDS era and birth of ACT UP, one of the most creative mass movements of the decade. Stepped-up gay militancy protests government indifference to plague.

1982: Up to a million people rally in Central Park for nuclear freeze movement, which

toxic cloud around globe, sounding a worldwide alert to dangers of nuclear power.

1987: Controversy over exhibit of erotic photographs by Robert Mapplethorpe fuels "culture wars" and conservative assault on public funding of arts.

1987: Iran/contras investigation reveals illegal covert actions by executive branch to aid *contras* fighting to overthrow Nicaraguan government. World Court finds US in abrogation of international law for embargo against Nicaragua, mining its harbors and creation and support of *contras*.

1989: Collapse of Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe following Gor-

1995: John Sweeney takes leadership of AFL-CIO in first contested election in federation's history. Two years later Teamsters' victory in United Parcel strike symbolizes renewed energy of labor movement and reverses string of union defeats that began with PATCO.

1996: A burst of mergers and acquisitions in media industry accelerate trend toward greater concentration of media ownership and drive for continually rising profits through mass appeal. Congress passes Telecommunications Act with provisions favorable to industry.

1999: Census figures reveal that benefits of years of economic growth and booming stock market have accrued mainly to richest 5 percent of the population, producing one of the highest levels of inequality of income and wealth in American history.

GUIDE TO ILLUSTRATION (in order of appearance)

Pages 30–31: Freud; Du Bois; Einstein; Ford; Debs; Sanger; Joyce; Gandhi; Darrow; Sacco & Vanzetti; Dorothea Lange Depression photo; FDR; Eleanor; Anne Frank; Truman; Jackie Robinson; Mao

Pages 32–33: Rosenbergs; Elvis; Castro; Rachel Carson; Malcolm X; King; RFK; Friedan; Steinem; Allende; Nixon; Carter; Reagan; Gorbachev; Mandela; the Clintons

TIMELINE

August 24, 1954
Communist Control Act signed

December 2, 1954
Joe McCarthy censured by Senate

55 April 18–25, 1955
Bandung Conference founds Non-Aligned Movement

August 28, 1955
Emmett Till lynched in Mississippi

December 5, 1955
AFL and CIO reunite

1955
Daughters of Bilitis founded

56 February 14, 1956
Khrushchev reveals Stalin's crimes in "secret" speech

March 1, 1956
Autherine Lucy, first black at University of Alabama, expelled for causing a white riot

March 25, 1956
Treaty of Rome establishes European Common Market

March 27, 1956
IRS seizes *Daily Worker*

April 2, 1956
Daytime soap operas *As the World Turns* and *Edge of Night* debut

August 1, 1956
Salk polio vaccine distributed

October 31, 1956
France, Britain, Israel invade Egypt

October 1956
Uprising in Hungary crushed by Soviet troops; reforms in Poland

November 6, 1956
Ike re-elected

**"Sputnik," ...it has an
amusing, outboard
motor sound to it.**

—Editorial, "A Bully of a Word,"
October 26, 1957

The Myth of the Happy Worker

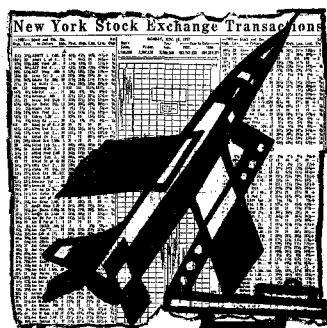
A recently-published article [informed us that]... "there are no workers left in America; we are almost all middle-class as to income and expectations."... If I understand the writer correctly, he is [saying that] if the worker earns like the middle-class, votes like the middle-class, dresses like the middle-class, dreams like the middle-class, then he ceases to exist as a worker.

But there is one thing that the worker doesn't do like the middle-class: he works like a worker. The steel-mill puddler does not yet sort memos, the coal miner does not yet sit in conferences, the cotton mill-hand does not yet sip martinis from his lunchbox. The worker's attitude toward his work is generally compounded of hatred, shame and resignation....

...Even if he puts in fifty, sixty or seventy hours a week at one or two jobs, he has to count on his wife's paycheck, or his son's, his daughter's, his brother-in-law's; or on his mother's social pension....

It is at best a precarious arrangement; as for its toll on the physical organism and the psyche, that is a question perhaps worthy of further investigation by those who currently pronounce themselves bored with Utopia Unlimited in the Fat Fifties.

—Harvey Swados, August 17, 1957



Artist Unknown

From "Salesmen in Uniform,"
by Al Toffler, 11/30/57

I Won't Vote

In 1956, I shall not go to the polls. I have not registered. I believe that democracy has so far disappeared in the United States that no "two evils" exist. There is but one evil party with two names, and it will be elected despite all I can do or say....

[H]ow does Stevenson differ from Eisenhower? He uses better English than Dulles, thank God! He has a sly humor, where Eisenhower has none. Beyond this Stevenson stands on the race question in the South not far from where his godfather Adlai stood sixty-three years ago, which reconciles him to the South. He has no clear policy on war or preparation for war; on water and flood control; on reduction of taxation; on the welfare state....

I have no advice for others in this election. Are you voting Democratic? Well and good; all I ask is why? Are you voting for Eisenhower and his smooth team of bright ghost writers? Again, why? Will your helpless vote either way support or restore democracy to America?

—W.E.B. Du Bois, October 20, 1956

**In brief, automobiles are
so designed as to be
dangerous at any speed.**

—Ralph Nader, "The Safe Car You
Can't Buy," April 11, 1959



Oscar Berger

From "What Cuba's Rebels Want,"
by Fidel Castro, 11/30/57

The markets should be full of produce; the pantries of our homes should be well-stocked; every hand should be industriously at work. No, this is not inconceivable;... what is inconceivable is that the majority of our rural families live in conditions worse than those of the Indians whom Columbus found when he discovered "the most beautiful land that human eyes have seen."

—Fidel Castro

Judy Garland

Everything about Judy Garland touches me....

She is professionally bound to be "happy." The free and easy style which she mentions in song is more akin to frenzy.... She has the freedom of spirit of the old time troupers (or troubadours), but to fit our up-to-date entertainment business she allows herself to be slightly "industrialized."... Miss Garland escapes this "industrialization" with a humorous cuteness, but the marks of pain it has caused her are evident in her every glance....

She is at bottom a sort of early twentieth century country kid, but the... big city wounds of our day are upon her. Her poetry is not only in the things she has survived, but in a violent need to pour them forth in vivid popular form, which makes her the very epitome of the theatrical personality.

—Harold Churman, "Theatre,"
October 13, 1956

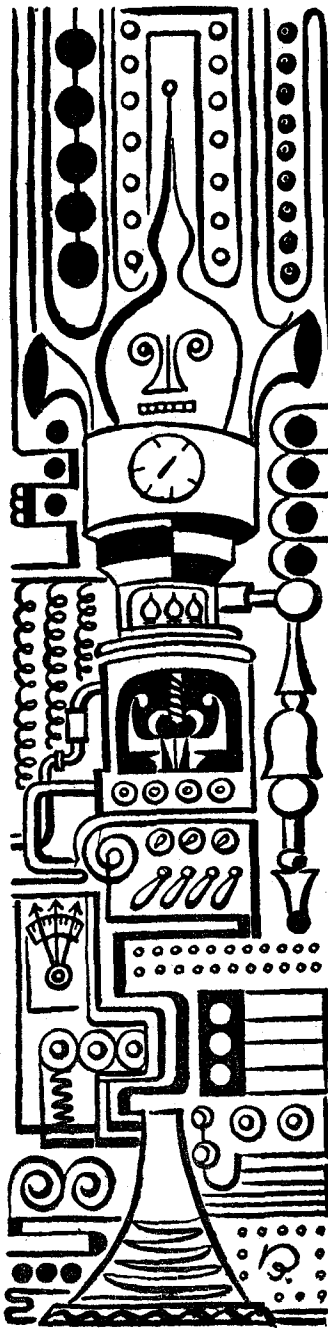
Eyewitness: South African Racism

Designed to crush the passive-resistance movement against racial discrimination, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act raise dictatorship to a racial fury hitherto exceeded only by Hitler....

What will happen next?... [T]he struggle is bound to be long and painful. The [ANC] leaders have apparently learned a great deal. When the African National Congress began its campaign, it had only 5,000 dues-paying members; today, according to Walter Sisulu, it has 60,000.

—Basil Davidson, on enforcement of 1949 apartheid decree, June 27, 1953

1950s



Oscar Berger
12/15/56

**Robot-machines are
opening Coke bottles,
science is reaching for
the moon, and the rest of
us are doing cross-word
puzzles, watching
Ed Sullivan, and hoping
for the best.**

—Dan Wakefield, "The Robot
Reaches for a Coke,"
December 15, 1956

Hip, Cool, Beat—and Frantic

The hipster-writer is a perennial perverse bar mitzvah boy, proudly announcing: "Today I am a madman. Now give me the fountain pen." The frozen thugs gathered west of Sheridan Square or in the hopped-up cars do not bother with talk. That's why they say "man" to everybody—they can't remember anybody's name. But Ginsberg and Kerouac are frantic. They care too much, and they care aloud. "I'm hungry, I'm starving, let's eat right now!" That they care mostly for themselves is a sign of adolescence, but at least they care for something, and it's a beginning. The hipster is past caring. He is the criminal with no motivation in hunger, the delinquent with no zest, the gang follower with no love of the gang; i.e., the worker without ambition or pleasure in work, the youngster with undescended passions, the organization man with sloanwilsonian gregory-peckerism in his cold, cold heart.

—Herbert Gold, review of *On the Road*, by Jack Kerouac, November 16, 1957

Nasser: Pharaoh in Shirtsleeves

Nasser is a genuine product—at once a symbol and an inspiration—of the Bandung era. He is the first powerful indigenous spokesman of the Afro-Asian resurgence. Chou En-lai's dogmas come from Russia. Nehru is a product of the British Empire. Sukarno is little more than a cipher.... But Nasser reflects to perfection the groping, half-grown, ill-read, eclectic nature of the Bandung philosophers. He is a through-and-through Afro-Asian; and he sees his country pre-eminently as a link between those two rumbling continents.

—James Morris (later Jan Morris), January 12, 1957

Say It Ain't So

The tearful plea of the newsboy to Shoeless Joe Jackson in the White Sox baseball scandal of forty years ago may now be echoed, mutatis mutandi, by any of the millions of suckers, including ourselves, who trustingly believe in the honesty of TV quiz programs, in particular the now defunct "Twenty-One."

—Editorial, October 17, 1959

Pay-off at Miami

"Honest Tom" Hickey, the only Teamsters leader to claim that obsolete adjective before his name, stood in the sunlit pressroom of the Miami Beach auditorium on the second day of the convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, facing a few reporters and the awful future.... "There's never been a convention like this before. For forty-five years we had Tobin and then for five years we had Beck." He paused for a moment, and said, "Now we're at the end of the road."

The end of the road was, appropriately, Miami Beach, where the garish hotels must borrow the names and display the knick-knacks of other civilizations to compensate for the lack of its own in this vast, air-conditioned casket where ulcerated citizens come to die. The man at the end of the road was Jimmy Hoffa, and that, too, was appropriate, for Jimmy Hoffa, in one form or another, is always the man at the end of the road.... Hoffa is the man offstage who does the chopping in the last act of *The Cherry Orchard*; Hoffa is Faulkner's Flem Snopes with thick wrists and a vengeance.

—Dan Wakefield, October 12, 1957

If It Takes All Winter

In the excitement over Little Rock, editors and columnists have been seriously debating the question, "Is a Civil War Brewing in the South?" It is difficult to see just what prompts this hysterical question. At the time of the firing on Fort Sumter, there was no mistaking the martial atmosphere that prevailed; swords flashed, flags waved, men marched and bugles blared. This is hardly the atmosphere that prevails these brisk fall days as the Yankees square off against the Braves.... No, another Civil War, gentlemen, is not brewing in the South; what impends in that handsome land is a day of triumph in the long struggle to kill Jim Crow.

—Editorial, October 12, 1957

TIMELINE

1956
SANE is formed

57 September 25, 1957
Ike sends Army to Little Rock to protect black students

October 4, 1957
Soviets launch Sputnik

December 6, 1957
AFL-CIO expels Teamsters

58 1958
China's "Great Leap Forward" triggers nationwide famine

1958
Nabokov's *Lolita*

59 January 1, 1959
Castro leads rebels into Havana

March 11, 1959
Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun* opens

June 21, 1959
Lady Chatterley's Lover banned from mails

September 14, 1959
Passage of Landrum/Griffin Act further restricting unions

November 2, 1959
Charles Van Doren exposes crooked quiz show

November 7, 1959
Supreme Court invokes Taft-Hartley to break steel strike

1959
Barbie Doll introduced

1959
Pantyhose introduced

60 Spring 1960
Fair Play for Cuba Committee

May 1, 1960
Soviets shoot down U2 spy plane

August 12, 1960
First communications satellite launched

September 26, 1960
First televised presidential debate

November 9, 1960
Kennedy elected President

December 1960
World population passes 3 billion

1960
"Come on, baby, let's do the Twist"
—Chubby Checker

1960
300 million paperbacks sold

TIMELINE

- 61 **January 17, 1961**
Eisenhower warns of "military-industrial complex"
- January 17, 1961**
Congo's Lumumba assassinated by CIA
- March 1, 1961**
Peace Corps authorized
- April 17, 1961**
Bay of Pigs invasion
- May 1961**
SNCC and CORE Freedom Rides
- December 1961**
JFK increases "advisers" in Vietnam from 800 to 3,000
- 62 **May 17, 1962**
US sends troops to Laos
- June 1962**
SDS convention in Port Huron
- July 3, 1962**
Algeria wins independence
- September 30, 1962**
Ole Miss students riot over admission of James Meredith
- October 10, 1962**
Thalidomide tragedy prompts law against harmful drugs
- October 11, 1962**
John Paul XXIII convenes Vatican II
- October 28, 1962**
US, USSR back off World War III in Cuban missile crisis
- November 1962**
Nixon holds "last press conference" after losing CA governor's race
- 1962**
Ramparts founded
- 63 **February 11, 1963**
Sylvia Plath commits suicide at 30

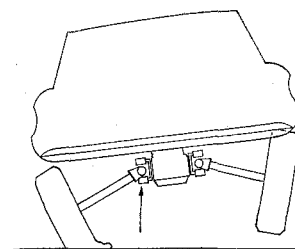
1960s

The Students Take Over

In talking about the Revolt of Youth we should never forget that we are dealing with a new concept. For thousands of years nobody cared what youth were doing. They weren't news. They were minding.

They aren't minding now. That isn't news. They haven't been minding since the days of...F. Scott Fitzgerald. In those days, they were cutting loose. In the thirties, they were joining up.... During the McCarthy Epoch and the Korean War, they were turning their backs and walking away. Today they are striking back. That is news. Nobody else is striking back.

—Kenneth Rexroth, July 2, 1960



Artist Unknown

From "The Corvair Story,"
by Ralph Nader, 11/1/65

Two Cheers for Kennedy

Vice President Nixon defends the record of the Administration in implementing cold-war policies and says he would do better; Senator Kennedy says he could do a lot, lot better....

...Both are opposed to the recognition of China;...neither has suggested that the Congressional inquisitorial committees should be curbed or abolished; neither acknowledges the existence of civil liberties as an issue. On civil rights...the Democratic nominee enjoy[s] a margin of preference....

Still a dilemma remains. New Nixon or old,...his consistent policy has been: never meet debate if you can stifle it.... In the past, his adherence to this method has not resulted in irreparable damage; in the future it might.... In the circumstances, there is only one way to cast an effective protest vote against Nixon and that is to mark a ballot for Senator Kennedy.

—Editorial, October 15, 1960

**That torture became passé
with the Inquisition is an
illusion which the
Algerian war has
dispelled. In that
gruesome conflict, the
Algerians have specialized
in assassination, the
French in torture.**

—Editorial, "The Efficacy of
Terror," November 12, 1960

Pellet of Nihilism

An act of cynicism, because it is immoral rather than amoral, still carries the seeds of its own salvation; no matter how despicable, it is still the act of a man. The execution of [Caryl] Chessman, however, was an act of insect-morality, carried out in a moral vacuum; it seemed to lack even the possible medieval dignity of vengeance or the possible sick strength of sadism; in terms of cultural tragedy, it felt like the last twist of the knife.

—Terry Southern, May 21, 1960

America's Black Supremacists

Malcolm X...speaks forcefully, yet with complete control:... "We are seeking a return to our own culture.... Where's Ralph Bunche? He isn't in Harlem. He's down at the Waldorf-Astoria. Where's Roy Wilkins? When has he given a speech in Harlem, to the people of Harlem? I'm not talking about the black bourgeoisie."

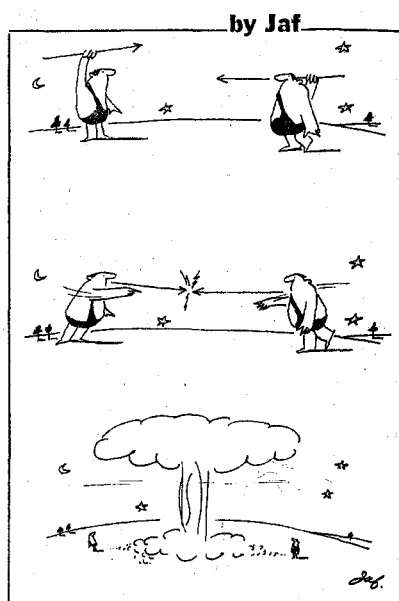
—Herbert Krosney, May 6, 1961

Are We Training Cuban Guerrillas?

The Nation was the only US publication to warn of the Bay of Pigs.

Fidel Castro may have a sounder basis for his expressed fears of a U.S.-financed "Guatemala-type" invasion than most of us realize. On a recent visit to Guatemala, Dr. Ronald Hilton, director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Stanford University, was told the Central Intelligence Agency has acquired a large tract of land, at an outlay in excess of \$1,000,000...that is being used as a training ground for Cuban counter-revolutionaries who are preparing for an eventual landing in Cuba. It was also said that U.S. personnel and equipment are being used at the base.

—Editorial, November 19, 1960



12/21/63

In the Ring

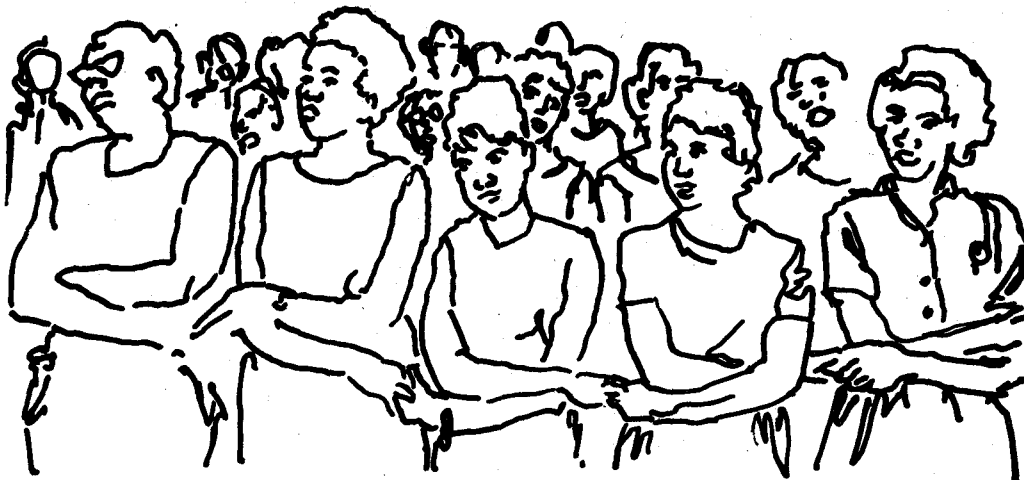
Sonny Liston was the big black Negro in every white man's hallway, waiting to do him in, deal him under, for all the hurts white men have been able to inflict on his world. Sonny Liston was "the huge Negro," the "bad nigger," a heavy-faced replica of every whipped-up woogie in the world. He was the underdeveloped have-not (politically naive) backward country, the subject people, finally here to collect his pound of flesh.

The mock contest between Liston and Patterson was a "brushfire" limited war. Neo-Colonial policy to confuse the issue. Patterson was to represent the fruit of the missionary ethic; he had found God, reversed his underprivileged (uncontrolled) violence, and turned it to work for the democratic liberal imperialist state. The tardy black Horatio Alger offering the glad hand of integration to welcome 20 million into the lunatic asylum of white America...

...We always get to the bad niggers...either kill 'em or drive 'em out of the country. Jack Johnson, Henry Highland Garnet, Du Bois, Paul Robeson, Robert Williams, Richard Wright, Sidney Bechet, Josephine Baker, Beauford Deloney, Chester Himes, so many others. The black neurotic beauties trailing dumbly through the "equal" streets of hopeless European cities. All the unclaimed fugitive corpses....

That leaves us with Cassius X. Back in the days when he was still Clay it was easy to see him as a toy manufactured by the Special Products Division of Madison Avenue.... [But] Clay is not a fake, and even his blustering and playground poetry are valid; they demonstrate that a new and more complicated generation has moved onto the scene.

—LeRoi Jones, June 29, 1964



Artist Unknown

From "Let Justice Roll Down," by Martin Luther King Jr., 3/15/65

Prison Notes of a Freedom Rider

We could see about two inches of the faces of our immediate neighbors and quickly learned the views of the "voices" which made up our little world. Views there were, of all sizes, shapes and intensities. The cell block—like Sartre's *No Exit*—was a constant torment of argument, dogma, prayer and song.... After breakfast (grits, coffee, molasses, white bread) came devotions.... This was followed by special time set aside for debate and argument....

Votes were necessary to settle the never-ending debates that broke out over large matters or small.... Someone in cell No. 2 on the far side makes a motion which is ponderously passed from cell to cell, to our "pivot man" and down the thirteen cells on our side. Assuming the motion managed this precarious passage without distortion (or objection), the debate began. Each person's remarks and interpolations had again to be passed around the block. After everyone had had his full say, the voting would begin. "How does cell No. 4 vote?" "One for, one against." "O.K. Cell No. 5, what about you?" "Two abstentions. We want to explain our abstentions." A series of low groans would break out. This democratic spirit was doggedly defended to the very end.

—Robert Martinson, January 6, 1962

Beatlemania as a phenomenon is manna for dull minds.

—Alan Rinzler, "No Soul in Beatlesville," March 2, 1964

The March

The March [on Washington for Jobs and Freedom]...should also establish what has been clear all along—at least to those who have had more than a nodding acquaintance with the so-called "Negro problem"—that the Negroes are probably the least alienated of America's racial minorities and the least revolutionary in any ideological sense. The overwhelming drive of American Negroes, in all regions, at all levels, is for middle-class status; they want to participate, on terms of freedom and equality, in the Great American Barbecue.

—Editorial, September 14, 1963

TIMELINE

March 18, 1963

Supreme Court establishes right of counsel in *Gideon v. Wainwright*

June 10, 1963

Congress passes law guaranteeing women equal pay

June 17, 1963

Supreme Court bars Lord's Prayer, Bible reading in schools

August 5, 1963

US, UK, USSR sign nuclear test-ban treaty

1963

US has two-thirds of world's autos

64 January 11, 1964

Surgeon General's warning: smoking causes cancer, emphysema

February 25, 1964

Cassius Clay KOs Liston to win world heavyweight championship

February 1964

Beatlemania sweeps US

March 9, 1964

Supreme Court narrows libel law for public figures in *New York Times v. Sullivan*

May 1964

PLO founded

Summer 1964

Mississippi voter registration drive

August 4, 1964

Bodies of civil rights workers Goodman, Schwerner, Chaney exhumed

August 1964

Democrats won't seat Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegates at convention

September 27, 1964

Warren Commission finds Oswald acted alone in JFK assassination

October 14, 1964

King wins Nobel Peace Prize

November 3, 1964

Peace candidate LBJ beats warmonger Goldwater by 15 million votes

1964

Hoffa achieves master trucking agreement for Teamsters

1964

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission established

65 February 21, 1965

Malcolm X assassinated

February 1965

Robert McNamara calls for nationwide bomb shelters, missile-defense system

'Let Justice Roll Down'

With the maturation of the civil rights movement, growing out of the struggles of 1963 and 1964, new tactical devices will emerge.

The most important single imperative is that we continue moving forward with the indomitable spirit of those two turbulent years. It is worth recalling the admonition of Napoleon (he was thinking of conquest, but what he said was true also of constructive movements): "In order to have good soldiers, a nation must always be at war."

—Martin Luther King Jr., March 15, 1965

TIMELINE

- February 1965**
US bombers hit North Vietnam
- March 6, 1965**
State troopers attack civil rights marchers near Selma
- March 8, 1965**
First US combat troops in Vietnam
- April 28, 1965**
US Marines invade Dominican Republic
- July 1965**
125,000 US soldiers in Vietnam
- Summer 1965**
Bob Dylan goes electric
- August 11–16, 1965**
Watts riot against police brutality
- September 30, 1965**
National Endowments for Arts, Humanities created
- October 3, 1965**
Immigration Reform Act abolishes national quotas
- October 1965**
Massacre of 400,000 Communists in Indonesia
- December 1965**
Miniskirt appears in London
- 1965**
Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed*
- 66 March 21, 1966**
Supreme Court finds *Fanny Hill* has "redeeming social value"
- June 13, 1966**
Supreme Court issues *Miranda* rule
- June 1966**
National Organization for Women founded
- August 1966**
Comedian Lenny Bruce dies of OD

1960s

A Report From Occupied Territory

What [is true of] Harlem is true of Chicago, Detroit, Washington, Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and San Francisco—is true of every Northern city with a large Negro population. And the police are simply the hired enemies of this population.... They are, moreover—even in a country which makes the very grave error of equating ignorance with simplicity—quite stunningly ignorant; and, since they know that they are hated, they are always afraid. One cannot possibly arrive at a more sure-fire formula for cruelty.

This is why those pious calls to "respect the law," always to be heard from prominent citizens each time the ghetto explodes, are so obscene. The law is meant to be my servant and not my master, still less my torturer and my murderer. To respect the law, in the context in which the American Negro finds himself, is simply to surrender his self-respect....

Here is the boy, Daniel Hamm [one of the Harlem Six, falsely accused and convicted of murder], speaking—speaking of his country, which has sworn to bring peace and freedom to so many millions: "They don't want us here. They don't want us—period! All they want us to do is work on these penny-ante jobs for them—and that's *it*.... They don't want us on the street 'cause the World's Fair is coming.... So they put us off the streets, so their friends from Europe, Paris or Vietnam—wherever they come from—can come and see this supposed-to-be great city."

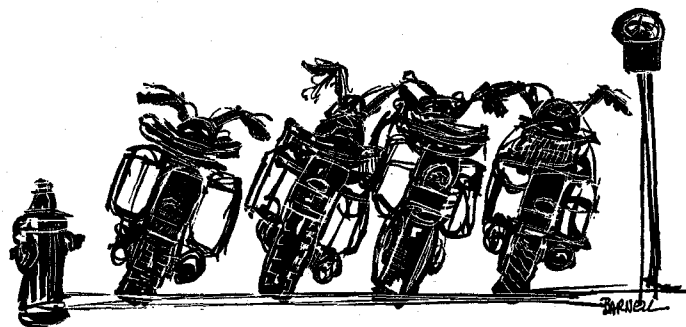
There is a very bitter prescience in what this boy—this "bad nigger"—is saying, and he was not born knowing it. We taught it to him in seventeen years. He is draft age now, and if he were not in jail, would very probably be on his way to Southeast Asia. Many of his contemporaries are there.... They are dying there like flies; they are dying in the streets of all our Harlems far more hideously than flies. A member of my family said to me when we learned of the bombing of the four little girls in the Birmingham Sunday school, "Well, they don't need us for work no more. Where are they building the gas ovens?" Many Negroes feel this; there is no way not to feel it. Alas, we know our countrymen, municipalities, judges, politicians, policemen and draft boards very well. There is more than one way to skin a cat, and more than one way to get bad niggers off the streets.

—James Baldwin, July 11, 1966

Andy Warhol

It was not merely that Brillo pads were part of every household, as the Campbell's Soup can was part of every kitchen—the one item most likely to be found in the barest cupboard.... beyond that, the cardboard container was ubiquitous, disposable and part of Americans' itinerant mode of life.... It was what everyone threw away.... Warhol said, "The Pop artist did images that anybody walking down Broadway could recognize in a split second.... all the great modern things that the Abstract Expressionists tried so hard not to notice at all."

—Arthur C. Danto, writing on the twenty-fifth anniversary of Warhol's sensational Brillo Box exhibition, April 3, 1989



Barnell

From "The Motorcycle Gangs: Losers and Outsiders," by Hunter S. Thompson, 5/17/65

The vast majority of motorcycle outlaws are uneducated, unskilled men between 20 and 30, and most have no credentials except a police record.... They are out of the ballgame and they know it—and that is their meaning; for unlike most losers in today's society, the Hell's Angels not only know but spitefully proclaim exactly where they stand.

—Hunter S. Thompson



Anthony Accurso
2/26/68

The American Condition

The "American character" is at best a nebulous notion—which is one of the reasons for setting up committees on "un-American" activities to enshrine and defend it. Thus it was inevitable, in the wake of the Kennedy assassination, that our national make-up should be examined and found wanting by one set of diagnosticians, while another would focus on our ancient virtues and describe the act as one of isolated lunacy.... This is the stand taken by Senator Thurston B. Morton of Kentucky: "...What happened was not America's fault."

A comforting declaration—but we cannot wash our hands of Oswald so easily. Assuming that everything happened as the FBI says, he was still a product of Texas (and of New York City), of the American lower-middle class, of the U.S. Marines and so on. All those places and associations are as American as baseball.... There is violence in the American character, probably more than in any other national character.... Oswald expressed that violence in his own fashion.

—Editorial, December 21, 1963

Kremlin Diplomacy

The defeat of Indonesian communism has changed the political balance in Asia for quite a few years to come, even if the Communist party eventually recovers. In the whole history of international communism there are only two comparable defeats: one suffered by the Chinese party at Chiang Kai-shek's hands in 1927, and the other inflicted upon the German party by Hitler in 1933.

—Isaac Deutscher, January 10, 1966

The Vietnamese David may have to give up all the ground he gained in the Tet offensive, but the war will never be the same again. Goliath is in a state of shock.

—Editorial, "Goliath Entrapped," February 19, 1968

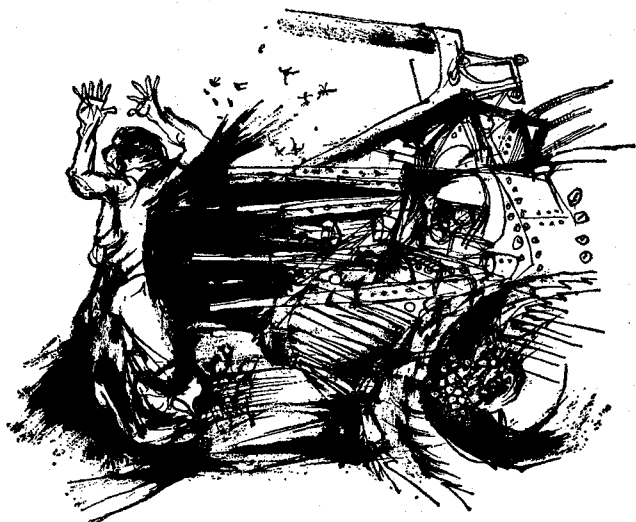
Out of the Blue

There are many kinds of revolution and for each kind one can find more than one theoretical explanation. But underlying the phenomenon in its major form there is always a radical shift or change in mass consciousness. Suddenly, it seems, people begin to perceive socio-economic situations in a new way. The perspective shifts, the shift is momentous, but it is not as abrupt as it appears on the surface. The change has been gestating over a period measured in years, not in weeks or days.

The happenings in Paris are a case in point....

...It was a wildcat strike on a national scale,... a revolution less against the state as state, than against the current form of society, against the whole technological-bureaucratic pattern of civilization.

—Editorial, on May '68 revolt of students and workers, June 3, 1968



Vo-Dinh

From, "Jail Notes of a Young Vietnamese,"
by Nguyen Van Minh, 3/24/69

Individually, the hippies are beautiful. They know a lot the squares don't. They know that marijuana is mildly pleasant and doesn't give you lung cancer.

—Jack Newfield, "One Cheer for the Hippies," June 26, 1967

Beale Street and Points North

His movement, his life were Southern; but Memphis, where he died, symbolized more than the South. Its racial crisis of 1968 and its murderous failure were those of all America. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. went there during the fifth week of a garbage workers' strike that had built into a civil rights movement.... The issues of the strike were broadened to a protest against general conditions for Negroes, not unlike those in cities across the land—police brutality, unfit housing, lack of jobs, low wages, discrimination in schools. These, as Dr. King later noted, were the new national issues of Negro protest, economic at base, the focal point of the Poor People's Campaign. But the main issue in Memphis was dignity. Again and again, preachers, union leaders and others demanded dignity.

—Pat Watters, April 22, 1968

Paradise Reagan-ed

To understand the election of Ronald Reagan as governor of California, it is important to grasp the idea of that state as "paradise." The Eden image has led millions to move there; from the Okie migrations of the thirties to the present the state has swarmed with newcomers.

Thus, when an election came up during a time of rapid social change and increasing problems, the people of California fled reality... and brought in a totally inexperienced man who campaigned on the basis of being a political innocent. Now all is simple and wonderful in a land where "thinking makes it so." There is no need for government and, led by an innocent, the Californians can look forward to eternities of joy, while the rest of America, in the land of Nod (East of Eden) must continue to struggle and sweat.

—Carey McWilliams,
December 5, 1966

The Fear of Violence

"If an election were held today," says [Nelson] Algren, "[Mayor] Daley would win out of fear—out of the fear of violence. He is the guy who will get the police out....

He is a big property man, and the city is full of little property people." They don't mind violence—as long as they aren't the victims.

—Editorial, following Chicago police riot, September 16, 1968

A Strategy to End Poverty

The theory here, to force change through chaos, was among the most provocative of the 1960s.

It is widely known... that nearly 8 million persons (half of them white) now subsist on welfare, but it is not generally known that for every person on the rolls at least one more probably meets existing criteria of eligibility but is not obtaining assistance.

The discrepancy... is an integral feature of the welfare system which, if challenged, would precipitate a profound financial and political crisis. The force for that challenge, and the strategy we propose, is a massive drive to recruit the poor onto the welfare rolls.

—Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, May 2, 1966

TIMELINE

1966

Mao's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution begins

1966

Classic Penn Station demolished for boring building

1966

Arlo Guthrie writes *Alice's Restaurant*

67 April 21, 1967

US-backed "Colonels' Coup" ousts civilian government in Greece

April 30, 1967

Muhammad Ali stripped of boxing title for refusing draft

June 12, 1967

Supreme Court overturns state miscegenation ban

June 1967

Israel occupies West Bank, Gaza, Golan, Sinai in Six-Day War

August 30, 1967

Thurgood Marshall confirmed as first black Justice on Supreme Court

October 3, 1967

Arlo Guthrie's father, Woody, dies

October 21, 1967

March on Pentagon

December 31, 1967

Founding of Youth International Party (Yippies)

1967

Britain legalizes homosexual acts between "consenting adults"

1967

FBI launches COINTELPRO against black groups

68 January 5, 1968

Prague Spring—Dubcek government eases repression in Czechoslovakia

March 12, 1968

Eugene McCarthy wins 42% of vote in New Hampshire

March 31, 1968

LBJ announces he won't run for re-election

April 4, 1968

King assassinated in Memphis

May 1968

Students in Paris rebel, joined by workers

June 1968

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

TIMELINE

August 20, 1968
Soviets invade Czechoslovakia;
Prague Spring reforms ended

August 1968
Third World Catholic bishops
hold Medellín conference

August 1968
Police riot at Chicago Democratic
convention

Summer-Fall 1968
Richard Nixon embarks on
"Southern Strategy" to win
Southern vote

November 5, 1968
Nixon elected President

November 5, 1968
Racist George Wallace takes
9.4 million votes

1968-69
Student strike at San Francisco
State

February 1969
Saturday Evening Post expires

May 1969
People's Park protest in Berkeley

July 1969
First moonwalk; photographs of
Earth inspire environmentalists

August 8-9, 1969
Tate-LaBianca "Helter Skelter"
slayings in LA

August 1969
Britain introduces troops in
response to rioting in Northern
Ireland

Spring-Summer 1969
Nixon starts troop withdrawals from
Vietnam, from peak of over 500,000;
begins secret bombing of Cambodia

November 15, 1969
Vietnam Moratorium Day—250,000
rally against war

1960s

It is becoming increasingly apparent that a campaign of repression and assassination is being carried out against the Black Panthers, and that a continuance of this course will see the entire leadership behind bars, or dead.... So far twenty-eight Panther leaders have been assassinated.

—Editorial, "Marked for Extinction," December 22, 1969

Vietnam: This Is Guernica

What is the point of attacking a leper hospital? And of doing it thirty-nine times? What have we possibly got against public education for Vietnamese children that we should seek out and destroy their schools? Was the leprosarium really a supply dump? Was the cathedral really a barracks?...

Our Air Force does not simply bomb the north. Using conventional explosives, pellets, napalm, white phosphor, thermite, magnesium or rockets, depending on the mission, it bombs this or that sector of the city of Vinh because, this Thanh Hoa cathedral instead of that pagoda because, this central irrigation system instead of that Northern canal because...because why?

The ROTC manual begins to give us a sense of the answer....

Psychosocial structure.... "The objectives of these attacks in the past have been to dispel the people's belief in the invincibility of their forces,...to cause strikes, sabotage, riots, fear, panic, hunger, and passive resistance to the government....

"If we were to search for the single type of target whose destruction would have the greatest adverse effect on the morale of a population today, we would have to conclude that the destruction of an enemy's major cities with high yield nuclear weapons would produce the most telling results, not only on morale, but on every other component of the nation's structure."

All this from a soldier's primer.

—Carl Ogelsby, on the occasion of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm, June 5, 1967

A Feast for Open Eyes

Flaming Creatures is much more about intersexuality than about homosexuality. [Director Jack] Smith's vision is akin to the vision in Bosch's paintings of a paradise and a hell of writhing, shameless, ingenious bodies.... [T]he important fact about the figures in Smith's film is that one cannot easily tell which are men and which are women. These are "creatures," flaming out in intersexual, polymorphous joy. The film is built out of a complex web of ambiguities and ambivalences, whose primary image is the confusion of male and female flesh. The shaken breast and the shaken penis are interchangeable with each other.

—Susan Sontag, writing after the film was seized by New York City police on grounds of obscenity, April 13, 1964



Anthony Accurso

Gene McCarthy, from "Down the Primary Stretch," by Anthony Netvoy, 5/27/68

Whitey's on the Moon Now

I had a Papago Indian intellectual friend over to watch the first man on the moon.

The Papago Indian intellectual brought over a Papago Indian cowboy to watch too.

"They are about to land," I said. "You said something about beer."

"Wait."

"What for?"

"Till they get on the moon."

"Are they on the moon yet?"

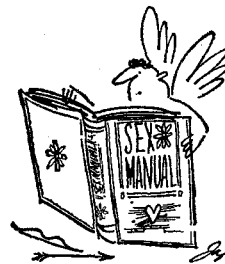
"Yes."

"Can I have the beer?"

"The white man on the moon said one small step for a man and one giant step for mankind."

"That's nice," the Papago cowboy said. "Can I have the beer now?"

—William Eastlake, September 15, 1969



Jaf

From "Sex Happiness for All," by David Cort, 9/2/61

After Stonewall

The Nation did not comment on the Stonewall riot in 1969. The following was written to commemorate its twenty-fifth anniversary.

Craig Rodwell, a witness to the war in the streets, said in an interview for the documentary *Before Stonewall* that "everything came together that night." Somewhere in the existential depths of that brawl of screaming transvestites were all the freedom rides, the anti-war marches, the sit-ins, the smoke-ins, the be-ins, the consciousness-raising, the bra-burning, the levitation of the Pentagon, the endless meetings and broken hearts. Not only that, but the years of gay men and lesbians locking themselves inside windowless, unnamed bars; writing dangerous, anonymous novels and articles; lying about their identity to their families, their bosses, the military; suffering silently when they were found out; hiding and seeking and winking at each other, or drinking and dying by themselves. And sometimes, not often, braving it out and surviving. It's absolutely astonishing to think that on one early summer's night in New York that world ended, and a new one began.

Andrew Kopkind, July 4, 1994

TIMELINE

November 20, 1969

Indian militants seize Alcatraz

70 February 18, 1970

Chicago 7 found not guilty of inciting riot

April 22, 1970

First Earth Day

April 1970

US invasion of Cambodia

May 1970

Largest student strike in US history

May 4, 1970

Guardsmen gun down 4 antiwar students at Kent State

May 14, 1970

Police kill 2 students at Jackson State

July 1, 1970

NY legalizes abortion

August 26, 1970

Women march for ERA

September 1970

Black September massacre of Palestinians in Jordan

September–October 1970

Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin OD, RIP

December 1970

Clean Air Act

1970

Nixon establishes EPA and OSHA

71 April 20, 1971

Supreme Court upholds busing

July 1, 1971

26th Amendment gives vote to 18-year-olds

September 13, 1971

1,500 troopers storm Attica prison, 43 killed



Anthony Accurso

From "Down the Primary Stretch,"
by Anthony Netvoy, 5/27/68

Death of a Soldier

He was a first lieutenant and he was killed just four weeks before the end of his tour of duty. He had graduated from West Point near the top of his class, served on the honor committee, completed a course in Ranger training, and volunteered for Southeast Asia. He did not think that anyone should be forced to enter our armed services.

There is nothing extraordinary about a lieutenant—or a soldier of any rank—being killed in Indochina; it has happened to 45,000 of our men so far and the total is still rising. But this lieutenant was not killed in combat. He was not a helicopter casualty or the victim of an accident—there are many accidental deaths in every war. He was the target of a "fragging" (a phenomenon...practically unknown in previous American wars), as he lay sleeping in his billet at Bien Hoa.

—May 17, 1971

Peace Demonstrations, 1971

As they flung away their medals at the Capitol one veteran said, "I am prouder today of the service I have given my country than at any time when I was in uniform."... Every night at the campsite, hundreds of young men in civilian clothes but with short haircuts appeared, bearing candles. They were active-duty GIs from Fort Meade and Fort Belvoir. On Friday night some 400, this time in uniforms, attended a memorial service organized by the Concerned Officers Movement at the National Cathedral. After a "fiery homily" by William Sloane Coffin, they stood and gave the clenched-fist salute.

—Editorials, May 10, 1971

La Raza, the Land and the Hippies

The hippies assert that their tie to the land grows out of a universal, "natural" link between man and planet. The Chicano land gripe was thus a property hangup. The Chicano, defensive about the remnants of his land and life ways not stolen and raped by the Anglo world, is redefining his cultural linkage with the same soil. The hippie, he senses, can indulge in voluntary poverty. "Mama, send me some bread," phones a hippie mother in Taos. On the other end a middle-aged voice pleaded to know her daughter's welfare. "Mama, don't ask me things, just send me the money. I'm your flesh and blood, right?" To the Chicano, poverty is not a trip but a pit from which, until recently, he could escape only by extended servitude as a migrant worker.

—Peter Nabokov, April 20, 1970

Governor Reagan, who on April 8 had said that "if it takes a bloodbath" to end campus violence, "let's get it over with, no more appeasement," has hastened to assure critics that "bloodbath" was a figure of speech.

—Editorial, "The Politics of Manslaughter," on the killings at Kent State, May 18, 1970



Moss

From "Revolt Without Dogma: The Student Left," by Jack Newfield, 5/10/65

Hard-Hats: The Rampaging Patriots

Miss Susan Harman, 29, who works as an administrative assistant in Mayor Lindsay's office, was at a municipal workers' rally on Foley Square when she heard about the onslaught on City Hall. She hurried back and arrived just as the hard-hat mob was flowing back and forth between City Hall and Pace [University]. She heard shouts of "Get the hippie! Get the traitor!" She described what happened next:

Then I saw one construction worker arm himself with a pair of iron clippers and head towards a student already being pummeled by three workers. I shouted to him, "Don't," and grabbed hold of his jacket to stop him. He yelled at me, "Let go of my

jacket, bitch"; and then he said, "If you want to be treated like an equal, we'll treat you like one." Three of them began to punch me in the body. My glasses were broken. I had trouble breathing, and I thought my ribs were cracked....

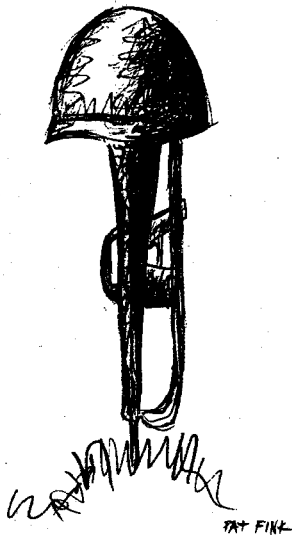
One might have thought that this kind of stuff would have disgusted even the most insensitive of men, but our national leaders have strong stomachs. Agnew sent Peter Brennan [president of the Building and Construction Trades Council] a letter commending "the impressive display in patriotism—and a spirit of pride in country that seems to have become unfashionable in recent years."

—Fred J. Cook, June 15, 1970

1970s

TIMELINE

- 72 **January 1972**
13 Catholics killed by Brits in Derry, Northern Ireland
- February 20–27, 1972**
Nixon in China
- March 22, 1972**
Senate approves ERA
- June 17, 1972**
Arrests at Watergate break-in
- June 29, 1972**
Supreme Court holds death penalty unconstitutional
- July 1972**
Ms. founded
- October 1972**
Washington Post publishes Watergate exposé
- November 7, 1972**
Antiwar candidate McGovern gets 29 million votes vs. Nixon
- December 17, 1972**
Christmas bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong begins
- 1972**
Senate ratifies SALT I
- 73 **February 28, 1973**
American Indian Movement occupies Wounded Knee, SD
- March 29, 1973**
Last US troops leave Vietnam
- May 17, 1973**
Watergate hearings begin
- June 21, 1973**
Supreme Court leaves definition of porn to "community standards"
- September 11, 1973**
US-backed coup kills Salvador Allende in Chile
- September 20, 1973**
Billie Jean King beats Bobby Riggs in tennis match



Pat Fink

From "Who Dies in Vietnam?"
by Lucian K. Truscott IV, 10/12/70

**As Senator Muskie put it,
the Attica prison rebellion
shows that "we have
reached the point where
men would rather die
than live another day
in America."**

—Editorial, "Slaughter at Attica,"
September 17, 1971

The Hubris of a President

While Nixon was celebrating the festivities of the Prince of Peace by bombing Hanoi, our God-fearing citizens were preoccupied with the Washington Redskins and the Miami Dolphins fighting their way to the Super Bowl.... Does one American in 1,000, or in 100,000, realize that, whereas the Germans dropped 80,000 tons of bombs on Britain in more than five years of war...we dropped 100,000 tons on Indochina in the single month of last November, when Nixon restricted the bombing because of the Paris "peace" talks; and that under Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon we have dropped a total of 7 million tons of bombs on Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos?...

Perhaps we are experiencing here what the Greeks called *hubris*, the sin of overweening pride. It has brought the downfall of so many conquerors—the Greeks themselves, the Romans, the French under Napoleon, the Germans under Wilhelm II and then Hitler. And we are seeing in Washington what I saw in Berlin in the Nazi time—how power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

—William L. Shirer, writing five months before
Congress began Watergate hearings, January 22, 1973

Three years ago [I dined at] a compound reserved for Anaconda supervisors and executives.... "We'll see the Chileans in hell before they get Exotica," said my dinner companion, banging down his soup spoon.

—Penny Lernoux, "Latin America Slams the Door," following Salvador Allende's decision to nationalize the mines in Chile, September 27, 1971

How About a Panda or Two

One benefit the United States might derive from Mr. Nixon's projected trip to China...is in the line of zoological entertainment. Children love pandas, and American zoos haven't got a single panda to offer them.... The last American panda died in 1953, and in the atmosphere of the McCarthy era could not be replaced.... Since this oversized cousin of the raccoon is a favorite American toy, Mr. Nixon could gladden the hearts of children by bringing one back with him...[and] practically insure his re-election. —Editorial, August 6, 1971

In Los Angeles...smog is not an accepted topic of polite conversation; one coughs, but doesn't talk about it.

—Editorial, "Lethal Blanket," October 25, 1971

The Women of the Boycott

Dolores [Huerta of the United Farm Workers] told us, "I've been afraid about everything until I did it. I started out every time not knowing what I was to do and scared to death. When Cesar first sent me to New York on the boycott it was the first time we'd done anything like that. There were no ground rules. I thought, 11 million people in New York, and I have to persuade them to stop buying grapes. Well, I didn't do it alone. When you need people, they come to you. You find a way...it gets easier all the time."

—Barbara L. Baer and Glenna Matthews, February 23, 1974

Overkill at 'The Silver Dollar'

Police have arrested about 300 Chicanos since the police riot that erupted during the East Los Angeles peace rally that Ruben [Salazar, the columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*] was covering on the afternoon he was killed. I didn't want to be "prisoner 301"... So I accepted the indignity of [a police] frisk with a gut-souring meekness. This is all too familiar stuff to anyone who has lived in a Chicano barrio. And when they yanked off my shoes and shook them upside-down, I clamped my mouth to hold back the sour saliva that I'd like to spit in their faces.

—Enrique Hank Lopez, October 19, 1970

Meany's Veto

The old test for a free trade union used to be the right to strike. Russian labor fails that test. But so do the unions of South Korea and the Philippines, to name just two groups with whose leaders Meany & Co. have recently hobnobbed. So-called union leaders from dictatorships on "our side" of the cold-war barricades get a warm welcome from the leadership of the American labor "movement," if one can still apply that term to the aging golfers of the federation's hierarchy.

—Editorial, April 30, 1977

1970S

The estimated shelf life of a Twinkie is seven years. That's two years longer than Dan White [the murderer of San Francisco Mayor Moscone and openly gay City Supervisor Harvey Milk] spent behind bars. When he was released this month, that Twinkie in his cupboard was still edible. But White will probably have it bronzed.

—Paul Krassner, "The Milk-Moscone Case Revisited," on the "twinkie defense," upon White's release from prison, January 14, 1984

Jane Roe and Mary Doe

If legal abortion is going to make it to 50, we need to place it once again in the context of women's real lives, which is to say, of feminism. We need to ask why so many people still feel that sex should be punished with childbirth; why women's health, well-being, needs and desires can so easily be dismissed as "convenience"; why women are seen by so many as too selfish and irrational to make this basic decision for themselves. Answering those questions draws us into others—about poverty and race, sex and sex roles, marriage and the family, and the fact that...women are still unequal in a society dominated by men. For *Roe v. Wade* to mean anything in the years to come, we have to fight for much more than abortion rights. We need to recapture the outspoken spirit of direct action and self-reliance that made abortion a political issue in the first place.

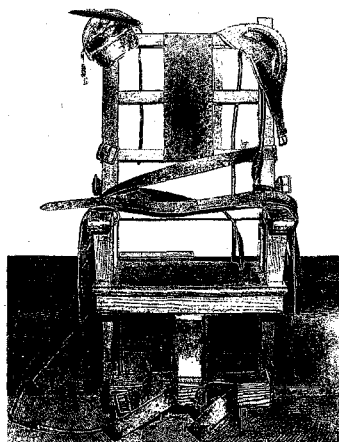
—Katha Pollitt, writing on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision, February 2/9, 1998

Yablonski's Unfinished Business

The United Mine Workers has been the most centralized, autocratic union in American history. Many years ago, union districts were stripped of their autonomy. Half-starved pensioners in bogus locals were herded, for a few dollars or a few promises, to the polls to vote illegally...for the leadership.... Miners knew how easily the company could "reassign" an activist miner to the most dangerous part of the mine. They knew that their industry-indentured union leaders...cared little about defending them in the mines or seeing that the pension fund treated them fairly when their broken bodies left the mine.

[Reformer "Jock"] Yablonski became angry whenever he recounted how fear in the coal fields had reduced the once defiant, proud coal mine worker into a timid serf. He recalled that after the Farmington disaster in November 1968, the surviving miners stayed away from their own meetings out of fear of informers and company goons. The union was not sticking up for its men, and without the union they weren't men.

—Ralph Nader, January 26, 1970



Artist Unknown

From "New Life for the Death Penalty," by Hugo Adam Bedau, 8/28/76

The Arrival

At last I can go through Customs all alone in Customs with my old suitcase and the kid that inspects just pretends to inspect without inspecting anything and he murmurs to me: "Father" and he doesn't dig down into the suitcase where he would find the phonograph record with Allende's last appeal to the people from the Palace, interrupted by the noise of bombs going off, the record I bought in East Berlin, or Fidel's speech about Allende's overthrow, the one that Sergio gave me, and the kid says: "It's eight o'clock already and we haven't eaten, we Customs workers get hungry, too" "What time do you have supper?" I asked "Not until after the last plane lands" and now I am moving towards the dark demolished city where everything is just the same and nothing happens but I have seen his eyes and with his eyes he has said to me: "Comrade."

—Ernesto Cardenal, Nicaragua, November 1, 1975
(Translated from the Spanish by Donald D. Walsh)

Bloody Birthday

The Pinochet regime...is sending the American people the perfect Chilean birthday gift for our Bicentennial: a torture chamber.

On July 4, more than 200 sailing ships from some thirty-five countries will enter New York harbor and cruise up the Hudson as a picturesque tribute to America's birth. Among the most handsome will be the *Esmeralda*, a four-masted, 353-foot craft that serves as a training ship for the Chilean Navy. It also served as a prison and torture center in Valparaiso following the September 11, 1973, coup.... In a particularly horrifying deposition, one man described how he was forced to grind salt into the wounds that covered another prisoner's back. —Editorial, June 26, 1976

**Carter will adopt a
Populistic rhetoric to keep
the Left in line; but, to
please the Right, he will
shy away from programs
that cost money.**

—Alan Wolfe, "The Two Faces of Carter," December 18, 1976

TIMELINE

October 6, 1973
Yom Kippur War begins

74 April 8, 1974
Hank Aaron hits record
715th homer

April 25, 1974
Left-wing army coup in Portugal

May 1974
India tests nuclear bomb

August 9, 1974
Nixon resigns

September 8, 1974
Ford pardons Nixon

September 12, 1974
Antibusing riots in South Boston

75 April 30, 1975
North Vietnamese take Saigon

December 1975
Indonesian troops invade East Timor

1975
Disco fever sweeps US

76 June 1976
Soweto uprising in South Africa

July 2, 1976
Supreme Court reinstates death
penalty

July 31, 1975
Jimmy Hoffa missing

September 16, 1976
Congress passes Hyde amendment
banning federal funding for abortions

November 2, 1976
Carter elected President

November 1976
Civil war in Lebanon ends

77 January 17, 1977
Gary Gilmore executed

September 7, 1977
US and Panama sign treaty for
return of canal

1977
Deng Xiaoping takes power in China

1977
Apple markets personal computer

1977
Sex Pistols release first punk album,
Never Mind the Bollocks...

78 June 28, 1978
Supreme Court rules against
"quotas" in *Bakke* decision

June 1978
California tax revolt sparks Prop. 13,
gutting public education

TIMELINE

November 27, 1978
Harvey Milk, gay San Francisco supervisor, and Mayor George Moscone murdered

79 February 1979
Iranian revolution

1979
Democracy Wall in Beijing
"publishes" pro-democracy words

November 4, 1979
Iranian students seize US Embassy

December 1979
Soviet troops invade Afghanistan

1979
Sugarhill Gang releases first rap hit, "Rapper's Delight"

80 March 14, 1980
Allard Lowenstein assassinated

March 24, 1980
Archbishop Romero assassinated in El Salvador by rightist gunmen

April 1980
Rhodesia becomes Zimbabwe

June 1980
CNN goes on air

July 31, 1980
Jimmy Hoffa still missing

July 1980
Supreme Court upholds minority quotas in government contracts

August 1980
Shipyard strike in Poland; Solidarity union soon recognized

September 25, 1980
Donald Trump, 34, opens NYC's Grand Hyatt Hotel

September 1980
Iraq invades Iran, starting 8-year war

November 4, 1980
Former actor Reagan elected

1980s

Perhaps because he is a Southerner, there lives in Carter still—I think—an ability to be tormented.... If he can still be tormented, he can be made to pause—the machinery can be made to pause—and we will have to find a way to use that pause.

—James Baldwin, "Notes on the House of Bondage," in advance of the Carter-Reagan election, November 1, 1980



Robert Grossman

From "The Return of Cold War Liberalism,"
by Andrew Kopkind, 4/23/83

Protest and Survive

I have come to the view that a general nuclear war is not only possible but probable, and that its probability is increasing.... I do not argue from this local episode or that: what happened yesterday in Afghanistan and what is happening now in Pakistan or North Yemen. I argue from a general and sustained historical process, an accumulative logic, of a kind made familiar to me in the study of history. The episodes lead in this direction or that, but the general logic of process is always toward nuclear war.

The local crises are survived, and it seems as if the decisive moment—either of war or of peacemaking and reconciliation—has been postponed and pushed forward into the future. But what has been pushed forward is always worse.... All moves on its degenerative course, as if the outcome of civilization was as determined as is the outcome of this sentence: in a full stop....

If my arguments are correct, then we cannot put off the matter any longer. We must throw whatever resources still exist in human culture across the path of this degenerative logic. We must protest if we are to survive. Protest is the only realistic form of civil defense.

—E.P. Thompson, January 23, 1981

In The Crack-Up, Fitzgerald...wrote: "It is sadder to find the past again and find it inadequate to the present than it is to have it elude you and remain forever a harmonious conception of memory." America has found its past again; the sadness will come.

—Richard Lingeman, "The Hollow Man," on the election of Ronald Reagan, November 15, 1980

The Church Revolutionary in Latin America

"We have confidence that the revolutionary process will be something original, creative, profoundly national.... With the majority of Nicaraguans, what we aim for is a process that will lead firmly toward a fully and authentically noncapitalist Nicaragua, neither dependent nor totalitarian," [said Nicaragua's bishops in their Pastoral Letter on socialism]....

A young guerrilla on the barricades of Esteli put it another way. "Look at this cross," he shouted at a foreign journalist, waving a revolver with one hand and holding up the cross hanging from his neck with the other. "I am not a Communist, as Somoza calls all who fight against his Government. I am a Catholic and a Sandinist!"

—Penny Lernoux, May 24, 1980

The Road to Reaction in El Salvador

At 5 each morning and afternoon in San Salvador, precisely at 5, thousands of tiny green parrots flock over the city, screaming and crying. They light on fountains, on the green statues of generals, on walls imbedded with jagged glass. Called *los pericos*, they are so mysteriously punctual that the old people tell time by their passing.

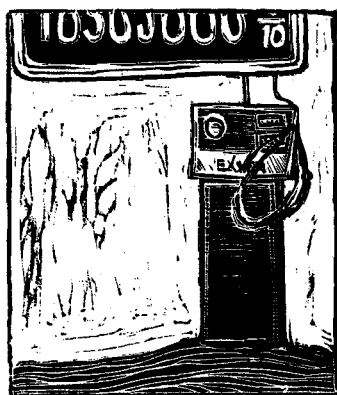
That predictability is matched now by the right-wing ritual of firing shots into the city air at 8 in the evening, and the staccato regularity of rifle reports, machine-gun fire and the explosion of incendiary bombs. The birds now light on concertina wire and the burnt carcasses of jeeps and trucks. With each passing, there is a longer

litany of assassinations, mass murders, bomb detonations, disappearances and mutilations.

As *los pericos* quieted for the evening on Sunday, March 23, Msgr. Oscar Romero stood behind the altar of the Divine Providence Hospital chapel, saying mass for the repose of a friend's mother....

"Let's be united in faith and hope as we pray for Sarita and for ourselves," were the Archbishop's final words before he fell to his death behind the altar. His heart had been torn open by a magnum slug, a single shot fired by a hired killer at a distance of twenty meters.

—Carolyn Forché, June 14, 1980



Frances Jetter

From "Behind the Great D.O.E. Stonewall," by Fred J. Cook, 5/31/80

Black Olympians?

President Carter's decision to boycott the Olympics...to punish the Soviet Union [for its invasion of Afghanistan] directly linked politics with sports.... [T]here was a bitter irony in this. For many years, whenever blacks tried to use sports as a vehicle for gaining political equality, whites told them that "politics has no place in sports."...

In 1968, at the Olympic Games in Mexico City, two Afro-American athletes won gold and bronze medals in the 100-meter dash. On the awards platform, Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised their fists in a Black Power salute. Their act of courage was a statement—a symbolic declaration that black America is not yet free, and that the very principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution remain a fraud regarding black, brown and poor people. As a result of their protest, Smith and Carlos were denounced, vilified and condemned. Their chief defender, sociologist Harry Edwards, was subsequently denied tenure at the University of California at Berkeley. Black Americans were warned again: politics had no place in sports. —Manning Marable, March 22, 1980

Capitol Airlines

The Generals say they know something worth fighting for
They never say what till they start an unjust war—
Iranian hostage Media Hysteria sucks
The Shah ran away with 9 Billion Iranian bucks

Col. Roosevelt and his U.S. dollars overthrew Mossadeq
They wanted his oil now they got Ayatollah's dreck
They put in the Shah and they trained his police the Savak
All Iran was our hostage quarter-century That's right Jack

—Allen Ginsberg, October 3, 1981

Family Feud on the Left

If the other side is for chastity, piety and other values bred in *Little House on the Prairie*, is the left, then, opposed? If they are the "moral majority," is everyone else, as one self-effacing button proposes, a member of an "immoral minority"? One novel position that has been gaining ground is that the left ought to try to co-opt the profamily position for itself. Betty Friedan offered the feminist—some would say postfeminist—version of this approach in her book *The Second Stage*.... It is worth taking seriously—if only as a cautionary example of what can happen if we rush off...to meet the right on its own turf....

There is, of course, a profamily constituency out there,...people who respond to the issues that the right has encoded as profamily, and it is important to be precise about what these are: opposition to abortion, to gay rights, to racial integration, to teen-age sexuality and to morally ambiguous books like *Catcher in the Rye*. The mistake on the left...has been to imagine that right-wing profamilyism arises from some deep and potentially anticapitalist and communitarian yearning—for "a haven where love and commitment can take precedence over competition and struggle." Maybe there is a little of that worthy sentiment admixed in the support for Alfonse D'Amato, Jesse Helms, Jeremiah Denton and the rest, just as there was an appealing strain of anticommercialism in the support for Adolf Hitler.

—Barbara Ehrenreich, March 13, 1982



Edward Sorel

From "Robert Bork and the Constitution," by Jamie Kalven, 10/1/83

TIMELINE

December 8, 1980

John Lennon assassinated in New York City

December 10, 1980

Prime rate hits 20 percent in monetarist frenzy

1980

Japanese turn out 11 million cars and trucks vs. US 7.8 million

January 20, 1981

Iran hostages freed

February 1981

Reagan issues "White Paper" justifying expanded US intervention in El Salvador

March 30, 1981

Reagan shot

June 1981

Socialist François Mitterrand elected president of France

September 25, 1981

Sandra Day O'Connor becomes first woman on Supreme Court

October 2, 1981

Reagan proposes mammoth defense spending on B-1 bomber, MX missile, etc.

1981

US-armed Guatemalan Army begins genocide of Indian population

February 28, 1982

UAW contract with Ford gives up raises for job security

April 30, 1982

Law of the Seas treaty signed; US one of 4 votes against

June 15, 1982

Supreme Court: children of illegal aliens entitled to public education

June 30, 1982

ERA falls 3 states short of ratification

July 1982

Poverty rate reported at 14 percent, highest since 1967

September 15, 1982

USA Today debuts, dubbed "news lite" and "McPaper"

September 16-18, 1982

Massacre of Palestinians in Beirut

January 1983

Times Beach declared disaster area because of dioxin poisoning

TIMELINE

February 28, 1983

125 million view final episode of *M*A*S*H*

March 1983

Reagan unveils Star Wars

April 12, 1983

Harold Washington elected first black mayor of Chicago

September 1, 1983

Soviets shoot down KAL 007

October 23, 1983

Truck bomb kills 239 US servicemen in Beirut; 2 days later US troops invade Grenada

November 1983

Michael Milken touts use of junk bonds in takeovers and leveraged buyouts

November 1983

Stocks hit new highs

1983

35.3 million below poverty line; highest rate in 19 years

1983

Michael Jackson's album *Thriller* sells 21 million copies

84

Spring 1984

First North American Bioregional Congress on the environment

July 18, 1984

Gun nut kills 21 at McDonald's

October 1984

China goes capitalist

November 6, 1984

Reagan/Bush over Mondale/Ferraro

December 3, 1984

Pesticide plant in Bhopal, India, leaks toxic gas, killing 2,000

1984

Bruce Springsteen's *Born in the USA* hits top of the charts

1980s

Solidarity—Lest We Forget

So many monstrosities have been spawned over the last sixty years by Communists under the pretext of contempt for formal bourgeois freedoms that I would like to strip the palimpsest of its Stalinist accretions by going back to the days of the Bolshevik revolution. Accused at the time by Lenin and Trotsky of democratic fetishism, Rosa Luxemburg replied:

We have never been idol-worshippers of formal democracy. Nor have we been idol-worshippers of socialism or Marxism either.... [We] have always revealed the hard kernel of social inequality and lack of freedom hidden under the sweet shell of formal equality and freedom—not in order to reject the latter but to spur the working class into not being satisfied with the shell, but rather, by conquering political power, to create a socialist democracy to replace bourgeois democracy—not to eliminate democracy altogether.

These words, written so long ago, remain valid today and still provide the key to the underlying unity of our struggle in Poland, in El Salvador and in the heartland of Western capitalism.

—Daniel Singer, *arguing against equation of communism with fascism in wake of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's military coup in Poland, July 3, 1982*

The next few years will tell whether Green politics—or the bioregionalism behind it—will take hold on this continent. The ecological imperatives we face demand it.... The past is killing us; the present is inert and unheeding; this is the politics of the future, and an awful lot of people seem to sense it.

—Kirkpatrick Sale, *"Bioregional Green," on the first continental bioregional conference, June 16, 1984*

Springtime for Hitler

The point of Reagan's impending trip to West Germany is to drive home a simple message: in World War II the peoples of the free world, mostly Americans, British and German, fought shoulder to shoulder against Soviet totalitarianism. Since there is no internationally recognized border in the President's mind between fantasy and fact, this is the history he now believes and thus it is perfectly natural for him to stand in silent appreciation over the bones of an S.S. man, foe of Bolshevism and, like the Nicaraguan *contra*, the moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers.

The President's reluctance to include a concentration camp on his agenda is equally understandable. In his mind he visited one right after the war, and as Spiro Agnew once said about slums, "If you've seen one, you've seen them all."... Of course he was making the whole thing up, but everyone shrugged it off as a minor example of the President's preference for the world in his head rather than for the less alluring reality outside. They used to lock people up for this kind of delusional mania.

—Alexander Cockburn, *"Beat the Devil," May 4, 1985*



J-C Suarès

From "Looking at the United States," 3/22/86

Chickens Come Home to Roost

Until now no president has so vastly replaced open policies with covert ones, has so cynically removed the major issues of his Administration from the possibility of public debate, has so brazenly and hypocritically done one thing with a closed hand and the exact opposite with the other. The arms deal—variously called Iranagwa, Gippergate and, by Reagan, "our Iran policy"—did not take place on the margins of policy but at its very heart.

C.I.A.-watchers estimate that there are at least fifty live covert-ops around the world, from Algeria to Zambia. Many of those involve terrorism on a scale so grand that they make the odd Arab hijacking or kidnapping look like a quiet day in Miami. The Administration managed the election of Duarte in El Salvador and then conceived of the tactic of terror-bombing civilian villages.... Reagan has approved money and arms for his chosen guerrillas in Chad and in Cambodia. He has sanctioned training of troops in Guatemala, and he has made Honduras into a permanent U.S. staging base....

...Reagan was forced into the covert mode of foreign policy by the legacy of Vietnam and the history of democratic opposition to imperial adventure. Nixon came a cropper of the peace movement of the 1960s; it is wonderfully ironic that, after all this time, Reagan has fallen victim to the same syndrome he has so often pronounced cured.

—Editorial, *on revelation of the arms-for-contras deal, December 2, 1986*

Glasnost and Us

Things will come flying through the windows of *glasnost* that Mikhail Gorbachev and the architects of radical reform in the Soviet Union neither foresee nor completely control. Heads will roll, jobs will shuffle and forces long repressed will bid for power.... It is clearly a breath of fresh air...and it is bound to reverberate not only within its own vast borders but around the world as well.

—Editorial, June 13, 1987

Flo Don't Know

When Jesse Jackson talks about the "dispossessed and the disenfranchised," he does not refer only to the poor or the voteless but to people who are radically removed from the nourishing institutions and the enlivening spirit of American society. In Michigan, especially, that includes whites as well as blacks, and people who are just getting by in the economy as well as those who are suffering on welfare. Hundreds of thousands of white workers have lost their jobs, and the ones who are still working live with a permanent sense of insecurity. A pall of pessimism has settled over the scene.

"We work every day," Jackson reminds crowds of the underemployed, who invariably respond with knowing assents. "And we are still poor. We pick up your garbage; we work every day. We drive your cars, we take care of your children, we empty your bed pans, we sweep your apartments; we work every day. We cook your food, and we don't have time to cook our own. We change your hospital beds and wipe your fevered brow, and we can't afford to lie in that bed when we get sick. We work every day." By the end of the speech the nods of approval are mixed with tears.

—Andrew Kopkind, following Jackson's victory in Michigan primary, April 9, 1988

The Priest Who Fights the Regime

It is still the rainy season in Haiti, and with the sporadic but vengeful rains, and then the mud, and then the dust that hides everything, it has been difficult to get around, and even harder than usual to find out what is happening across town, much less outside the capital. "It's the rain," officials tell you when telephone communications are cut the minute unrest breaks out. "It's the rain," when the electricity goes off just as night falls and the army starts shooting. But rain cannot explain away the recent massacre of hundreds of peasants nor the beatings and arrests of people in the parish of Haiti's most outspoken bishop, nor the ham-handed attempt to silence the country's best-known and best-loved progressive priest, [Jean-Bertrand Aristide].

—Amy Wilentz, September 12, 1987

This fall, Bush has avoided history, rolled up the window of his limo and turned up the volume of Bobby McFerrin's hit song "Don't Worry, Be Happy." Sooner or later the music is bound to stop.

—Andrew Kopkind, "The Campaign of Do-Nothing Candidates," November 7, 1988

Pittston Power

At 4 P.M. on September 17, two large trucks wound their way up the dusty mountain road leading to the Pittston Coal Company's Moss 3 preparation plant in Carbo, Virginia. At the entrance, the trucks stopped, their rear doors opened, and out stepped ninety-eight miners dressed in camouflage, accompanied by a minister. They marched quickly past the [guards]...and occupied Moss 3. The security people...fled the plant.

Within minutes, 200 supporters of the miners had massed at the entrance to the plant and barred the state police from going inside.... By nightfall, the number of people outside the plant had swelled to 2,000. Welcome to what United Mine Workers of America vice president Cecil Roberts calls "class warfare in southwestern Virginia."

—Phill Kwik, October 16, 1989

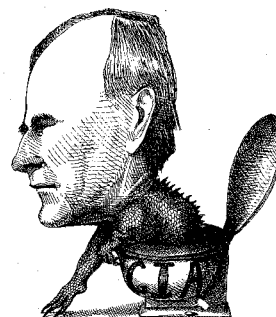
Mapplethorpe

Mark Stevens [Mapplethorpe's model in *Mr. 10½*] is wearing a black leather garment, cut away to expose his buttocks and his genitals, something like the tights affected by the sports at Roissy, where "O" underwent her sweetly recounted martyrdoms....

What is interesting is less the phallocentrism of Mapplethorpe's aesthetic than the politicizing of that aesthetic, preeminently in the images from the late 1970s...[the] period in which gays were coming out of the closet in large numbers.... I am insufficiently a historian of that movement, but my hunch is that sadomasochism must have presented some of the same sorts of dilemmas for the gay liberation movement that lesbianism initially did for the women's liberation movement. So this is not, as it were, "The Joy of S&M" but an artistic form of a moral claim on behalf of practices other gays might have found difficult to accept.... It would be known in advance that such image[s] would challenge, assault, insult, provoke, dismay—with the hope that in some way consciousness would be transformed. Its acceptance as art cannot be the only kind of acceptance at issue.

—Arthur C. Danto, September 26, 1988

[The exhibit prompted the right's attack on the public display and funding of provocative art.]



Steve Mendelson
From "The Same Old Dirty Tricks,"
by David Corn, 8/27–9/3/88

As the Wall Falls

The ideological morticians are wrong in assuming that this death of an epoch heralds a capitalist eternity. The lesson of events in East Germany is that people inspired by an idea can bring down walls. Two centuries after the French Revolution there are plenty of Bastilles to be stormed.

—Editorial, December 4, 1989

TIMELINE

1984
Media discovers "yuppies"

85 March 1985
Gorbachev new Soviet leader; soon announces *glasnost* and *perestroika*

May 1985
Reagan honors SS dead at Bitburg

July 13, 1985
Live Aid concert for famine relief

July 31, 1985
Jimmy Hoffa still missing

October 2, 1985
Rock Hudson dies of AIDS

1985
US becomes debtor nation for the first time since 1914

86 February 25, 1986
Cory Aquino assumes presidency of Philippines, ending Marcos dictatorship

April 14–15 1986
US bombs Qaddafi, hits daughter

June 30, 1986
Supreme Court upholds Georgia antisodomy law

September 1986
RU-486—"abortion pill"—tested successfully in France

October 2, 1986
Congress passes South Africa sanctions over Reagan veto

87 March 6, 1987
CBS News fires 200, closes bureaus

March 1987
FDA approves sale of AIDS drug AZT

August 4, 1987
FCC cancels "fairness doctrine"

October 23, 1987
Bork rejected by Senate

December 8, 1987
Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty signed

December 9, 1987
Palestinian *intifada* explodes

88 Spring 1988
Jesse Jackson wins 7 million presidential primary votes

August 8, 1988
Truce in Iran-Iraq war

November 8, 1988
It's Bush/Quayle!

89 March 1989
Exxon Valdez oil spill in Alaska

TIMELINE

April–June 1989
Chinese revolt in Tiananmen Square; tanks roll in to suppress it

June 21, 1989
Court nixes anti-flag-burning law

August 9, 1989
Bush signs \$166 billion S&L bailout

August 1989
Poland votes in non-Communists

December 20, 1989
US invades Panama in drug bust

December 1989
Average CEO's salary 93 times factory worker's

1989–90
Mine workers win strike at Pittston

90 May 15, 1990
Van Gogh portrait goes for record \$82.5 million

June 1990
Redwood Summer movement against logging of last old-growth forests

July 13, 1990
Dow Jones hits 3,000

July 26, 1990
Americans with Disabilities Act

August 2, 1990
Iraq invades Kuwait

November 19, 1990
Conventional Forces in Europe treaty signed

November 21, 1990
Junk-bond king Milken draws ten years for insider trading

1990
International Narcotics Control Act intensifies US drug war

91 January 16, 1991
US bombs Iraq, beginning Gulf War

1990S

A race-transcendent politics is most likely to succeed when the white community takes responsibility for overcoming its racism, not when the black community decides to forget about it.

—Haywood Burns, "Apology for Archie," December 3, 1990

The Character of Presidents

The President we get is the country we get. With each new President the nation is conformed spiritually. He is the artificer of our malleable national soul. He proposes not only the laws but the kinds of lawlessness that govern our lives and invoke our responses.... [T]he media amplify his character into our moral weather report. He becomes the face of our sky, the conditions that prevail. One four-year term may find us at reasonable peace with one another, working things out, and the next trampling on each other for our scraps of bread.

—E.L. Doctorow, November 9, 1992

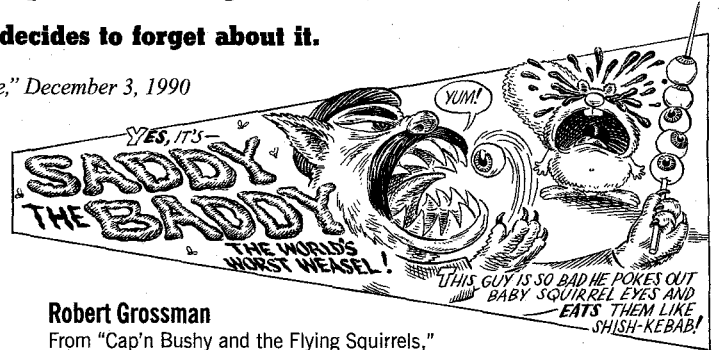


David Shannon

From "China Plays the Market," by Orville Schell and Todd Lappin, 12/14/92

In L.A., Burning All Illusions

Although arsonists spread terrifying destruction, the looting crowds were governed by a visible moral economy. As one middle-aged lady explained to me, "Stealing is a sin, but this is like a television game show where everyone in the audience gets to win." Unlike the looters in Hollywood (some on skateboards) who stole Madonna's bustier and all the crotchless panties from Frederick's, the masses of MacArthur Park concentrated on the prosaic necessities of life like cockroach spray and Pampers.—Mike Davis, June 1, 1992



Robert Grossman

From "Cap'n Bushy and the Flying Squirrels," on the demonization of Saddam Hussein, 7/15–22/91

S&Ls, Triumphs of Capitalism

The savings and loan adventure [has left a] gambling debt of \$500 billion (\$150 billion plus interest and other incidentals)—or will it be, as some economists predict, a trillion four?...

If, as seems entirely likely, there is no wholesale imprisonment of S&L scoundrels and no massive ouster of the politicians who betrayed us, who is going to feel most of the pain? You know the answer. You will, sucker. You, O citizen of this wretched Rome, are going to get *raptus regaliter*. Royally screwed.

—Robert Sherrill, November 19, 1990

"Underclass," an essentialist category, like underworld, became very popular in the Reagan years.

"Overclass" somehow never caught on.

—Alexander Cockburn, "Beat the Devil," July 24/31, 1989

A Blizzard of Images

Never before has a political movement set about implementing its demands by means of such a calculated manipulation of the media, by plastering the urban landscape with faux Madison Avenue advertisements that plagiarize existing ads or by drawing cartoon balloons containing messages about government inaction that billow out of the mouths of models in fashion and cigarette ads at bus stops.

...Although academic critics have long held that their own efforts are vitally relevant to left politics, ACT UP is the first practical application of the unwieldy apparatus of contemporary art and literary theory to grass-roots activism.... [T]he coalition's media savvy derives from its members' convictions that they must generate their own set of countercultural images to inoculate against oppressive racist, homophobic and misogynist ideologies.... ACT UP's image-centricity is thus not so much one of its major concerns as it is its very modus operandi. —Daniel Harris, December 31, 1990

Notes on Our Patriarchal State

Do we want a free society or a patriarchal one? My question is not rhetorical. Patriarchal. From the Latin *pater*, father. As in father knows best. A patriot, then, is someone who serves the *fatherland*. The notion of the father as chief of chiefs is prehistoric. From this tribal conceit derives monotheism: the idea of a single god-creator who has created at least half of *us* in *his* image....

Although the notion of one god may give comfort to those in need of a daddy, it reminds the rest of us that the totalitarian society is grounded upon the concept of God the father. One paternal god, one paternal leader. Authority is absolute.

—Gore Vidal, August 27/September 3, 1990

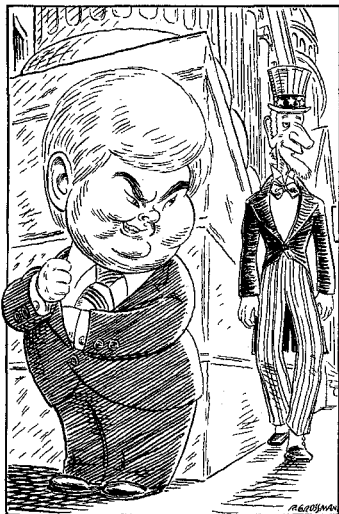
Another Country

Many people did not care for Pat Buchanan's speech; it probably sounded better in the original German.

In trying to determine just how far to the right the G.O.P.'s loony wing will go, it's worth noting how Pat Robertson, past and possibly future G.O.P. presidential candidate, is fighting Iowa's proposed equal rights amendment. Pat says feminism "encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians." —Molly Ivins, on the *Republican National Convention*, September 14, 1992

Prisons are the largest employer in Imperial County, California. The corollary: One out of every twelve county residents is now a prisoner.

—Mike Davis, "Hell Factories in the Field," February 20, 1995



Robert Grossman

"Contract on America," 12/12/94

Nobody mentions deterrence anymore; the death penalty is about social control of a far more pervasive kind.... After a spasm of official bloodletting, people are impressed with their own powerlessness: "As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods; they kill us for their sport."

—Editorial, on the executions of Robert Harris and Rickey Ray Rector, April 23, 1992

Appointment in Sarajevo

Post-Communist Europe is hesitating on the brink of its own version of Balkanization, and Yugoslavia gives an inkling of what could lie ahead for more than one region, to say nothing of more than one culture. Bosnia matters because it has chosen to defend not just its own self-determination but the values of multicultural, long-evolved and mutually fruitful cohabitation. Not since Andalusia has Europe owed so much to a synthesis, which also stands as a perfect rebuke to the cynical collusion between the apparently "warring" fanatics. If Sarajevo goes under, then all who care for such things will have lost something precious, and will curse themselves because they never knew its value while they still had it. —Christopher Hitchens, September 14, 1992

There's an election in America; run for the bomb shelters! No one in the world is safe when the presidency is at stake.

—Editorial, "Back Off Jack," on plans for renewed US bombing of Iraq, August 17, 1992

Subject to Debate

Women have been unfairly blamed for a lot of things over the years—the Fall of Man (*sic*), their own rapes and beatings, autistic children....

But poverty? Women cause poverty? That is the emerging bipartisan consensus, subscribed to by players as far apart as Charles Murray and Eleanor Holmes Norton, Dan Quayle and Bill Clinton, *National Review* and *The New York Times*. All agree that unwed mothers, particularly teenagers,...are the driving force behind poverty, crime and a host of other ills....

To say that unwed mothers cause poverty is like saying hungry people cause famine, or sick people cause disease. Out-of-wedlock births do not explain why...corporations nationwide are laying off thousands of white-collar workers, or why one out of five college graduates are working at jobs that require no college degree. Imagine for a moment that every teenage girl in West Virginia got married before getting pregnant. How would that create jobs or raise wages? Marriage might benefit individuals (or not), but it can't bring back the coal industry. Family values didn't save the family farm, and they won't save the millions of people who have been rendered superfluous by the New World Economic Order.

—Katha Pollitt, May 30, 1994

The Border Patrol State

One evening at sundown, we were stopped in traffic at a railroad crossing in downtown Tucson while a freight train passed us, slowly gaining speed as it headed north to Phoenix. In the twilight I saw the most amazing sight: Dozens of human beings, mostly young men, were riding the train; everywhere, on flat cars, inside open boxcars, perched on top of boxcars, hanging off ladders on tank cars and between boxcars. I couldn't count fast enough, but I saw fifty or sixty people headed north. They were dark young men, Indian and mestizo; they were smiling and a few of them waved at us in our cars. I was reminded of the ancient story of Aztlán, told by the Aztecs but known in other Uto-Aztecan communities as well. Aztlán is the beautiful land to the north, the origin place of the Aztec people. I don't remember how or why the people left Aztlán to journey farther south, but the old story says that one day, they will return.

—Leslie Marmon Silko, October 17, 1994

TIMELINE

March 3, 1991
Beating of Rodney King videotaped

June 26, 1991
Autopsy proves President Zachary Taylor wasn't poisoned in 1850

August 19, 1991
Yeltsin, standing on tank, defies conservative coup

September 3, 1991
Hamlet, NC, fire kills 25 in chicken plant (exits locked); plant not inspected because of Reagan cuts

October 1991
Anita Hill charges Clarence Thomas with sexual harassment

December 1991
Soviet Union implodes

February 1992
Tribal People's Charter (Penang Declaration)

April 29, 1992
Rodney King verdict sparks LA riots

April 1992
Operation Rescue blocks abortion clinics

May 22, 1992
Johnny Carson leaves *The Tonight Show*

June 1992
Earth Summit on species preservation and global warming

October 1, 1992
Ross Perot announces his candidacy

October 23, 1992
Congress tightens Cuba embargo

November 3, 1992
Clinton elected President

December 24, 1992
Bush pardons Iran/Contra co-conspirators

December 1992
GATT talks collapse over European farm subsidies

December 1992
US troops land in Somalia

1992
US national debt over \$3 trillion (up from \$735 billion in 1981)

April 19, 1993
FBI assaults Branch Davidians

May 25, 1993
UN establishes war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

TIMELINE

September 13, 1993

Israel, PLO sign first Oslo agreement

October 1993

Clinton sends more troops to Somalia after 12 Rangers killed

October 1993

Yeltsin orders tanks to shell Russian Parliament

December 8, 1993

Clinton signs NAFTA treaty

94

January 1994

Zapatista rebellion against globalization

February 1994

Serbs lift siege of Sarajevo

April-June 1994

Hutu extremists slaughter 800,000 Tutsis in Rwanda; West wrings hands

November 8, 1994

UN establishes war crimes tribunal for Rwanda

November 1994

GOP wins Congress; Gingrich becomes Speaker, issues Contract With America

December 11, 1994

Russian troops invade breakaway province of Chechnya

95

January 1, 1995

WTO goes into effect

November 4, 1995

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin assassinated by right-winger

96

August 20, 1996

Minimum wage raised to \$5.15 (lower in constant dollars than 1966)

November 5, 1996

Clinton re-elected

1990s

¡Zapatista! The Phoenix Rises

The country enters the year 1994 with an insurrection and no one except the rebels understands anything.

They call themselves Zapatistas.

History repeats itself. In Mexico it always repeats itself. Neanderthal Marxists never get tired of reiterating that it repeats itself as farce, but that has nothing to do with it. It repeats itself as vengeance. In Mexico, the past voyages, rides, walks among us. Zapata is the key image: stubbornness, the dream cut short but not sold out....

They have announced that they took up arms against a government founded on an electoral fraud, that they have decreed a new agrarian reform, that they will no longer endure any abuses by the police, the army and the latifundios' caciques, that the North American Free Trade Agreement is the final kick in the stomach to the indigenous communities....

The night they took San Cristóbal, the Zapatistas burned the municipal archives, the financial records, the land titles. The director of the historical archive negotiated with them: "You aren't going to burn the historical archive. The papers there tell the history of the origin of this city. The history of the seventeenth-century campesino rebellions and the Tzeltal uprising are there." The Zapatista committee met. Not only did they not burn it, they posted someone to guard it.

—Paco Ignacio Taibo II, March 28, 1994



Art Spiegelman
"National Rorschach"
10/30/95

Those Iraqis fortunate to receive dollars from relatives abroad can survive, but for a large section of the population, starvation, begging or crime are the only options.

—Selma al-Radi, "Iraqi Sanctions—A Postwar Crime," March 27, 1995

The Million Man Atonement

A National Day of Atonement—this is a religious enterprise. Why march on Washington? That's not where God lives, last I heard. This platform of isolationism, personal responsibility and women-waiting-at-home sounds somewhere between the scripts of the Promise Keepers and the Contract With America....

I also worry about a "personal responsibility" march on the site of the civil rights marches of the past. The privatizing symbolic catchwords of the day seem to have displaced the broader political battles of the past. If past marches were about all blacks achieving the full benefits of citizenship, this march of atoning black men seems to insist that "We exist!" "We are different!" and "We are good!"... I'll tell you what I'd like to see....

Why not design a march where Rush Limbaugh and Mark Fuhrman could weep for their sins with Marion Barry; where Pat Buchanan and Louis Farrakhan could jump up shouting with the ecumenical power of divine redemption; in which Clinton atoned for Lani Guinier?... And let's see Ricki Lake out there atoning too.... Shoving the cameras away, muttering those words we all so long to hear; "Enough!"

—Patricia J. Williams,
October 30, 1995

The Mirage of Peace

The deep tragedy of Palestine is that a whole people, their history and aspirations have been under comprehensive assault—not only by Israel (with the United States) but also by the Arab governments and, since Oslo, by Arafat....

I do not pretend to have any quick solutions for the situation now referred to as "the peace process," but I do know that for the vast majority of Palestinian refugees, day laborers, peasants and town and camp dwellers, those who cannot make a quick deal and those whose voices are never heard, for them the process has made matters far worse. Above all, they may have lost hope....

I have been particularly disheartened by the role played in all this by liberal Americans, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. Silence is not a response, and neither is some fairly tepid endorsement of a Palestinian state, with Israeli settlements and the army more or less still there, still in charge. The peace process must be demystified and spoken about plainly. Palestine/Israel is no ordinary bit of geography; it is more saturated in religious, historical and cultural significance than any place on earth. It is also now the place where two peoples, whether they like it or not, live together tied by history, war, daily contact and suffering. To speak only in geopolitical clichés (as the Clinton Administration does) or to speak about "separating" them (as Rabin does) is to call forth more violence and degradation. These two communities must be seen as equal to each other in rights and expectations; only from such a beginning can justice then proceed.

—Edward W. Said, October 16, 1995

Big Brown Backs Down

We're taking the attitude that no one wins in a strike," a UPS spokesman said. Others groping for words to console capitalists jittery at the prospect of emboldened labor argued that there is nothing pivotal about this victory, that it doesn't prefigure a reversal of the [1981] PATCO strike—when Reagan fired the air traffic controllers, launching an era of defeat, defensiveness and demobilization in labor—that this was all a case of "U.P.S. exceptionalism."... Such pleading for the neutral nature of strike outcomes was never made in the wake of the battered warriors from PATCO... or Hormel or Caterpillar or Staley or a hundred other, lesser-known battle sites that serve as markers of labor's long, grim season. For as everyone knows, in a strike there is always a winner and a loser. And for our side, this win is sweet indeed.

—Editorial, September 8/15, 1997

The Future of Clinton's Past

The presidency is a Jerry Springer show. The public is variously entertained, appalled and titillated by the smallness and coarseness of it all.... No matter that Asian economies are imploding, the world's poor are expanding,...the nation is experiencing the widest divergence of income, wealth and opportunity in five decades. It is more fun to ponder semen stains. There was even a Web site, firstpenis.com. It wasn't worth the visit.

—Robert Reich,
September 7/14, 1998

Matthew's Passion

A lot of people worry these days about the death of civil discourse, and would say that I ought not call the Pope a homicidal liar, nor (to be ecumenical about it) the orthodox rabbinic homicidal liars, nor Trent Lott a disgusting, opportunistic hatemonger. But I worry a lot less about the death of civil discourse than I worry about being killed if, visiting the wrong town with my boyfriend, we forget ourselves so much as to betray, at the wrong moment in front of the wrong people, that we love one another.... I mourn Matthew Shepard's actual death...much more than I mourn the lost chance to be civil with someone who does not consider me fully a citizen, nor fully human. I mourn that cruel death more than the chance to be civil with those who sit idly by while theocrats, bullies, panderers, and their crazed, murderous children, destroy democracy and our civic life. Civic, not civil, discourse is what matters, and civic discourse mandates the assigning of blame.

—Tony Kushner,
November 9, 1998

HISTORIC QUESTION DEPARTMENT, 11TH GRADE DIVISION

In every century, it seems, The Constitution's put to test. Important questions must be asked, And ours is, "Did he touch her breast?"

—Calvin Trillin, January 11/18, 1999

'Transition' or Tragedy?

A terrible national tragedy has been unfolding in Russia in the 1990s, but we will hear little if anything about it in American commentary on this fifth anniversary of the end of the Soviet Union. Instead, we will be told that Russia's "transition to a free-market economy and democracy" has progressed remarkably, despite some "bumps in the road."...

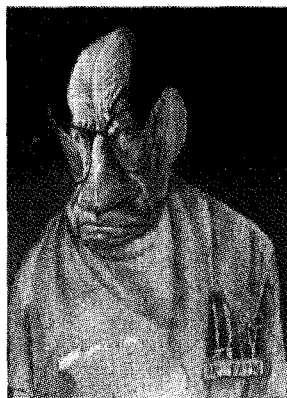
For the great majority of families, [however], Russia has not been in "transition" but in an endless collapse of everything essential to a decent existence—from real wages, welfare provisions and health care to birth rates and life expectancy; from industrial and agricultural production to higher education, science and traditional culture; from safety in the streets to prosecution of organized crime and thieving bureaucrats; from the still enormous military forces to the safeguarding of nuclear devices and materials....

Fragments of Russia's unprecedented, cruel and perilous collapse are reported in the U.S. mainstream press, but not the full dimensions of insider privatization, impoverishment, disintegration of the middle classes, corrosive consequences of the Chechen war or official corruption and mendacity. Why not? Why don't American commentators lament the plight of the Russian people as they did so persistently when they were the Soviet people?

—Stephen F. Cohen, December 30, 1996

The crucial reality is the need to sell your labor to capital in order to live, the need to carve up your personality for sale—to look at yourself in the mirror and think, "What have I got that I can sell?"

—Marshall Berman, "Unchained Melody," on the reissued Communist Manifesto, May 11, 1998



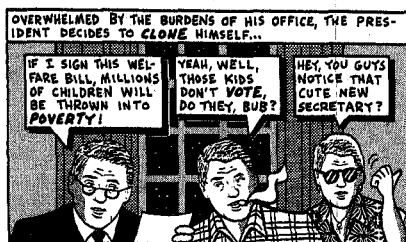
Steve Brodner
From "The Inflation of Alan Greenspan," by Robert Sherrill 3/11/96

Sextuple Jeopardy

Ed Bryant, [one of the House impeachment managers] has famously declared, "Wouldn't you want to observe the demeanor of Miss Lewinsky and test her credibility? Look into her eyes?"

Did the managers unconsciously remember, perhaps, that the entire scandal began with Clinton looking into Lewinsky's eyes? Perhaps they had been afflicted by a similar longing. Like psychoanalysts, it seems, they wished to revisit—indeed, to re-enact—the scene that caused the trauma. Isn't it somehow the measure of the folly of this crisis that, in obedience to a pathology we cannot quite put our finger on, the trial perhaps cannot end until almost the entire US government has, following in the misguided, reckless footsteps of Bill Clinton, gazed into the vacant eyes of Monica Lewinsky?

—Jonathan Schell, February 22, 1999



Tom Tomorrow
From "Multiplicity," 9/9-16/96

There is always another chance to bring a better system to birth, which is what history means, after all.

—Editorial, "Starting Over," June 20, 1994

TIMELINE

1996
First decline of US AIDS deaths

February 1997
Sheep cloned in Scotland

March 20, 1997
Liggett admits cigarettes addictive

May 16, 1997
Clinton apologizes for four-decade-long syphilis experiment on black men

July 1997
Currency crisis in Thailand triggers Asia-wide recession

December 10, 1997
Kyoto Treaty on global warming

January 21, 1998
Clinton denies he had an affair with Lewinsky

April 10, 1998
Good Friday Agreement on Northern Ireland signed

May 14, 1998
Seinfeld ends after nine years (nothing wrong with that)

May 1998
India, Pakistan perform underground nuclear tests

September 27, 1998
Mark McGwire blasts 70th HR

September 1998
Senate kills campaign finance reform

December 5, 1998
James P. Hoffa elected president of Teamsters; Jimmy Hoffa still missing

February 1, 1999
Clinton announces budget surplus

March 12, 1999
Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary join NATO

March–June 1999
US/NATO bomb Yugoslavia

May 3, 1999
Dow Jones hits 11,000

June 3, 1999
Milosevic accepts NATO peace plan

September 21, 1999
Australian troops land in East Timor

October 12, 1999
World population reaches 6 billion

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued From Page 2)

Furthermore, the fear of foes, which prompted their unity in part, is a more potent force than the general fear of anarchy.

The international community that we must organize must harmonize vast vitalities, abridge age-old sovereignties, arbitrate between incommensurate interests, and do all this without the basis of a common history or a homogeneous culture. To prevent imperialism on the one hand and anarchy on the other in the international community is different in degree to the point of being different in kind from the same problem on the level of the national community

REINHOLD NIEBUHR
New York

MAY 3, 1947

CAN'T DENY IT

Dear Sirs: ...I regret deeply that none of the members of the editorial staff of The Nation ever worked in a coal mine.

JOHN L. LEWIS
Washington

(on the magazine's assent to his contempt conviction following the UMW's flouting an injunction)

FEBRUARY 19, 1949

OH

Dear Sirs: It is a pity that Andrew Roth...revives the myth of a park notice in Shanghai saying "No Dogs or Chinese Allowed." No regulation couched

in such offensive terms was ever authorized in Shanghai. Separate regulations...prescribed, among other things, that Chinese were not admitted, as they elsewhere prescribed that dogs were not admitted. The denial of admission to Chinese in those days (later rescinded) was designed to recreate for the white man the ideal conditions of a park such as he enjoyed in his homeland....

ERNEST T. NASH
Woodland, Cal.

JANUARY 30, 1954

WHIPPED TOOTHPASTE

Dear Sirs: I did not see Allan Seager's piece, *Our Dream of Comfort*,...but must take my place on his side in the matter of whipped potatoes. In our household we regard it as impossible to make whipped potatoes properly with an electric mixer. Only putting them through a ricer and whipping them with a fork will get the requisite amount of air into them. Made with a mixer, they are indistinguishable from the same amount of toothpaste.

MARGARET HALSEY
White Plains, N.Y.

MARCH 13, 1954

EXTRACTING THE TRUTH

Dear Sirs: Of all the Communist cases in the headlines the one that has made my blood run cold is the case of Dr. Peress, the army dentist. The idea that a possible Communist, or a possible former Communist, or the possible acquaintance of a possible Communist might have—for eighteen months—practiced dentistry in our army is appalling. Who knows what secret messages may at this moment be concealed under the fillings this possible Communist may have put into the mouths of our innocent, or conspiratorial, officers and men? Suppose one of his patients should be captured by the enemy: a pulled tooth, and they would have a detailed map of the Pentagon's new hideaway. Or a platoon—still under the influence of novocaine shock—might desert to the enemy with an entire set of plans for all our atomic installations concealed in their teeth! Common sense insists that all the teeth of all the members of our armed forces be extracted at once.

...It is clear that the government must deal promptly with this menace. The F. B. I. should round up all dentists and put them in concentration camps. After clearance by Senator McCarthy, the handful of truly loyal ones may be allowed a limited practice, specializing of course on extraction. From now on false teeth will be a badge of patriotism. He is a poltroon, indeed, who would not give his teeth for his country. HELEN MEARS
New York

SEPTEMBER 4, 1972

FIRE-POWER MORALITY

DEAR SIRs: From his remarks at the Connally ranch April 30 it appeared that President Nixon did not rule out the possibility of bombing the dams and dikes of the Red River Delta.... Seyss-Inquart, the German High Commissioner in Holland, opened the dikes there in 1944, flooding 500,000 acres. This action was considered a war crime.

Even if President Nixon had not bombed the dams and dikes, 21 million bomb craters and millions of civilian casualties would seem to indicate that the United States has already done, by other means, many times more damage to the civilian population of Indochina than Seyss-Inquart could

"An extraordinary and almost unspeakably chilling book. It is a major study that deepens our understanding of communism and poses a philosophical and political challenge that cannot be ignored...[The book] is impressive and utterly convincing."

—Michael Scammell, NEW REPUBLIC

"An 800-page compendium of the crimes of Communist regimes worldwide, recorded and analyzed in ghastly detail by a team of scholars. The facts and figures, some of them well known, others newly confirmed in hitherto inaccessible archives, are irrefutable."

—Tony Judt, NEW YORK TIMES

"When *The Black Book of Communism* appeared in Europe in 1997 detailing communism's crimes, it created a furor. Scrupulously documented and soberly written by several historians, it is a masterful work. It is, in fact, a reckoning."

—Jacob Heilbrunn, WALL STREET JOURNAL

78 halftones, 6 maps • 1120 pages • \$37.50 cloth

THE BLACK BOOK OF COMMUNISM

CRIMES, TERROR, REPRESSION

STÉPHANE COURTOIS, NICOLAS WERTH,
JEAN-LOUIS PANNÉ, ANDRZEJ PACZKOWSKI,
KAREL BARTOSEK, AND JEAN-LOUIS MARGOLIN
FOREWORD BY MARTIN MALIA

possibly have done to the people of Holland. However, overwhelming fire power...can sometimes change fashions in morality. In 1944 Seyss-Inquart didn't have enough fire power; so he was convicted as a war criminal and hanged at Nuremberg.

Today Vice President Agnew says that what the United States has done in Vietnam is "the most moral act the United States ever performed as a citizen of the world community." And Mr. Agnew is an honorable man.... CLIFFORD M. TURNER

APRIL 30, 1973
ENDS AND MEANS

DEAR SIR: ...When power is no longer a male prerogative...deep changes in the nature of power itself and its uses will inevitably occur. Such changes are almost unimaginable, and can take place only if power is available *without question* to men and women equally.... To achieve that equality...women, contrary to Barbara Harrison,... must take power whenever and wherever they can.... That means that we might indeed rejoice "when Nixon appoints the first woman conservative to the Court." I fear that a short-sighted and moralistic view of the feminist movement will prevent it from gathering the momentum...to overthrow a millennia-old imbalance, the results of which are destroying the human race.

FRANCES LINENTHAL
Marshall, Calif.

JULY 20/27, 1985
THE LORD KNOWS WHOM

...I've long been a member of Calvin Trillin's campaign to purge the language of the word "whom," except when it occurs in circumstances such as the following, from Ring Lardner: "Whom are you," he said, because he'd been to night school."

ELIZABETH POCHODA
New York City

April 17, 1989
COCKBURN REPLIES

...About Irving Howe, maybe "slimier" was wrong. I thought about it for a while. "Stoat-like," "squalid," "weasel-brained" were all ascriptions jostling forward, but in the end I thought "slimy" properly evoked his eel-like slipperiness....

ALEXANDER COCKBURN
Aptos, Calif.

APRIL 27, 1992
FOR PETE'S SAKE

...In 1942 Charles Olson, through me, met Woody Guthrie and helped him get his first book published, *Bound for Glory*.

Pete Seeger
Beacon, N.Y.

November 23, 1998
"SCANDAL FATIGUE..."

What is most distressing is that our so-called representatives have turned Washington into a free-for-all designed to appease the right-wing zealots who have never forgiven the comeuppance of Richard Nixon. Far more critical matters—international problems, HMOs, the global economy, the widening gap between rich and poor, military boondoggles—go abegging while Congress devotes its time to discussing the President's dong. Shame on them all!

DAVID O. DURRELL
Kennebunkport, Maine

AT WHAT COST?

A POSTMORTEM ON THE BALKAN WAR

The Clinton administration boasts that the NATO alliance won a great victory in its war against Yugoslavia. Yet the war lasted far longer than NATO leaders anticipated, triggered a horrific refugee crisis among the Albanian Kosovars, and has left us with a long-term peacekeeping mission. Ten foreign policy experts examine how NATO blundered into this conflict, document its negative consequences, and offer proposals for preventing NATO's "victory" from becoming an even bigger fiasco.

CATO
INSTITUTE

NATO'S EMPTY VICTORY

A Postmortem
on the Balkan War

edited by Ted Galen Carpenter

NATO's Empty Victory:
A Postmortem on the Balkan War
Edited by Ted Galen Carpenter
Available at fine bookstores
200 pp./\$18.95 cloth/\$9.95 paper

www.cato.org • 1-800-767-1241

Almost as bright as the sun...

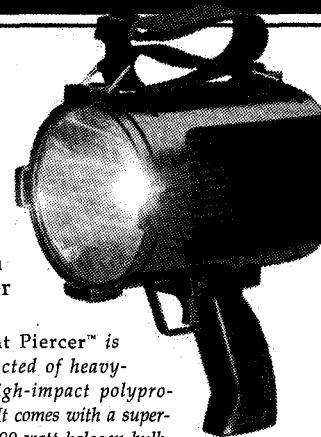
Night Piercer™

1 Million CandlePower Halogen Spotlight
only \$69⁹⁵*

*But read this ad for an even better deal!

The Night Piercer™ casts a focused beam that can be seen for many miles. It is 20-times brighter than automobile headlights, more luminous than aircraft landing lights. This powerful light is indispensable for tracking and exploring unknown territory and for any contingencies at night, in plane, boat, truck, or car. With its red gel, the Night Piercer™ can be a lifesaver in any emergency. The unit contains two sealed heavy-duty lead-acid batteries and can be recharged either through your household current or through the cigarette lighter socket of your car, RV or boat. Both adapters are included, of course.

We import Night Piercers™ in very large quantities and are therefore able to bring you this outstanding accessory for just \$69.95. (Compare with our competitor's price of \$99!). But we have an even better deal: Buy two for just \$139.90 and we'll send you a third one, with our compliments—absolutely FREE! The Night Piercer™ should be your companion on all your travels. Don't leave home without it—order it today!



• Night Piercer™ is constructed of heavy-duty high-impact polypropylene. It comes with a super-bright 100-watt halogen bulb and red gel for use as warning light. 110-volt and 12-volt rechargers are also included.

FOR FASTEST SERVICE, ORDER TOLL FREE
(800) 797-7367 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
OR FAX YOUR ORDER TO: (415) 643-2818.

Please give order #1072F334 for Night Piercer™. Give Visa/MC number and expiration date and daytime phone number for all orders. Add ship./ins. charge of \$9.95 for one unit or \$19.90 for three units (plus sales tax for CA delivery). You have 30-day refund and one-year warranty. We do not refund shipping charges.

For customer service please call (415) 643-2810. For wholesale orders, call Chris Simpson at that same number.

since 1967
haverhills®

2360 Third St., San Francisco, CA 94107

EMERGENCY MONEY FOR WRITERS

Career writers & dramatists facing financial emergencies -- medical bills, rent, living expenses -- may be eligible for an interest-free, open-ended loan from the Authors League Fund. Writers may apply directly, or a friend or relative may apply on their behalf.

Applicant must have a record of professional publications. Contact: Authors League Fund, 330 W. 42 St., New York, NY 10036-6902. (212) 268-1208; fax (212) 564-8363.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK

Pentland Press, Inc.
USA • ENGLAND • SCOTLAND

Established publisher can arrange the editing, design, publication, promotion, warehousing and distribution of your book. Write to: Pentland Press, Dept. N, 5122 Bur Oak Circle, Raleigh, NC, 27612 or call: 1-800-948-2786

REALITY TOURS

BUILDING PEOPLE TO PEOPLE TIES...

Haiti - Culture of Resistance: Better understand the people's history of resistance. Get beyond simplistic media portrayals of poverty and violence. Meet with women's, peasants', labor and peace organizations. Feb. 25 - Mar. 4

Cuba - Following Che's Footsteps: Learn about the history of the Revolution and the challenges that lie ahead. Travel throughout many provinces to explore important historical sites. March 18 - 28, 2000

Ireland - St. Patrick's Day in the North: Join in the Revival of this indigenous Irish celebration in the heart of the Unionist North. Immerse yourself in history and culture. Learn about future prospects for peace. What struggles lie ahead? March 6 - 20, 2000

Monthly • World Wide • Study Seminars

• **GLOBAL EXCHANGE** •
(800) 497-1994 www.globalexchange.org

Thanksgiving Coffee Co. Presents

END THE EMBARGO COFFEE™

Not just a cup,
but a just cup!

Protest the US
embargo on Cuba.

Support the movement to end it.

Drink great tasting, fair-traded coffee.

(800) 648-6491

www.endtheembargo.com



Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.

ACCOMMODATIONS

HOMESTAYS GRENADA. LIVE WITH LOCAL FAMILIES, from \$30/night. Self-catering apartments also available. PO Box 810, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies. Call (011) (473) 444-5845. E-mail jo-will@caribsurf.com.

ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE. MANHATTAN, NEW YEAR'S 2000. December 16-January 3, 2000. Spacious apartment overlooking park. East Village. Suitable for 2 people. \$1,400. Call (212) 260-5650.

APARTMENTS

UPPER WEST SIDE. 7 ROOMS. Own bedroom/phone. Safe prewar building, doorman, excellent transportation. References and security. Available at end of November. (212) 222-8388.

SMALL, FULLY FURNISHED EAST VILLAGE STUDIO available for sublet from former Nation Ad Director, January 15-March 10. \$868/mo. Call John Ghazvinian at (212) 473-7937.

BOOKLETS

JESUS FICTIONAL—INCONTROVERTIBLE PROOF! Josephus created Jesus, gospels. Scholarly booklet: \$5. Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (Details: SASE.)

BOOKS

"ANARCHIST COOKBOOK" AVAILABLE AGAIN! Complete, uncensored edition. \$25, delivered. Barricade Books, PO Box 1401-R, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

COUNSELING

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, twenty-plus years experience, PhD in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

FREE GROUP THERAPY. CPW LOCATION. Confidential, compassionate. (212) 724-8767. Call mornings.

LICENSED PSYCHOLOGIST, PhD. Psychodynamic/social orientation. Gender, relationship issues; problems of artists, writers. Sliding scale. (212) 477-9117.

PSYCHOTHERAPY TO SUIT YOUR NEEDS AND LIFESTYLE. Dr. Helen Wintrob, PhD, licensed psychologist with postdoctoral certificates in individual, couple and family therapy. Insurance accepted. Park Slope, Brooklyn, NY, location. (718) 783-0913.

EDUCATION



CETLALIC ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE SCHOOL. Learn Spanish, study Mexican/Latin American reality. Homestays. G/L/B friendly. AP 1-1201, Cuernavaca, Morelos 62000, Mexico. Phone/fax: (5273) 13-26-37; e-mail cetlalic@mail.giga.com; browse www.giga.com/~cetlalic.

COSTA RICA: INTENSIVE SPANISH. Emphasis on environmental, women's and social justice issues. Field trips, internship placements. ICADS also offers semester-abroad programs in Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Write ICADS, Dept. 826, Box 025216, Miami, FL 33102; e-mail icads@netbox.com; browse www.icadsr.com.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN MANHATTAN! Small, friendly nonprofit school. Twelve-week program begins January 24. Call Centro de Educación de Trabajadores, (212) 765-4634.

EL SALVADOR: INTENSIVE SPANISH. Studies/Volunteer Opportunities in Political/Cultural context. CIS, Boulevard Universitario #4, San Salvador, El Salvador, Central America; telephone/fax: (011) (503) 226-2623; cis@netcomsa.com.

FINANCIAL SERVICES

YEAR 2000 SURVIVAL: GOLD AND SILVER COINS are the perfect way to protect your assets. Call now. Prepare for Y2K with Gold and Silver. (888) 311-9530.

GRANTS TO INDIVIDUAL WOMEN AGE 54+ for projects in any field that enrich and empower the lives of adult women. For instructions send SASE to The Thanks Be To Grandmother Winifred Foundation/NAT, PO Box 1449, Wainscott, NY 11975.

INVENTIONS

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, NEW PRODUCTS! Presentation to industry/exhibition at national innovation exposition. Patent services. (888) 439-IDEA.

INVESTMENTS

SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE IRAs and mutual funds. John H. Dante, Sigma Financial Corporation, Chicago. (312) 867-7400.

MERCHANDISE

CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB 2000 WALL CALENDAR, \$7.95 + \$1.25 postage. An inexpensive holiday gift for your feline-loving friends. Order from CLAB-N, PO Box 83466, Lincoln, NE 68501; call (402) 475-4620; e-mail catcal@aol.com. VISA/MC accepted.

2000 LABOR HISTORY CALENDAR. Photos, dates celebrate workers' struggles. \$9. IWW, POB 42777, Philadelphia, PA 19101.

SERFS UP! BUMPER STICKERS. Send SASE and \$2 (3 for \$5) to People's Art Works, Box 568, Forest Knolls, CA 94933. T-shirts too! Black w/luminous lettering, \$20, M, L and XL. Union-made.

INEXPENSIVE, HEALTHFUL CORAL CALCIUM makes drinking water alkaline, adding essential ionic minerals which slow aging, reverse/control many degenerative diseases. Information (516) 744-5023.

PERSONALS

\$3.40 per word; Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service starting at \$30; for commercial advertisers standard rates apply.

Concerned Singles

For over a decade, Concerned Singles Newsletter has linked singles concerned about peace, social justice, racism, gender equity, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Free sample: Box 444-NA, Lenoxdale, MA 01242; call (413) 445-6309; or browse www.concernedsingles.com.

DISCREET ADULT TELEPHONE SERVICE providing intelligent, seductive and interesting women for a variety of erotic conversations. Call (800) 344-2019; browse www.sshh.com.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Experience your fantasy! VISA/MC/AMEX. (888) 495-8255.

PROFESSIONAL GENTLEMAN, 60, SEEKS LADY. What I hate: conceit, superiority, long-windedness. What I love: commitment to fitness, openness to another person's perceptions, affirming. Nation Box 325.

Classified

PERSONALS

PRISONER, AND QUITE LONELY, seeks correspondence with a woman who is down to earth, politically aware and seeking new horizons. Age doesn't matter, race doesn't either. Write to Carlton Burton, #75B1535, Eastern CF, Napanoch, NY 12458.

INCARCERATED S/W/M, 37, seeks correspondence in efforts to meet new and friendly minds. Shawn Eschert #83B1544, Sing Sing Prison, 354 Hunter St., Ossining, NY 10562.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

Take advantage of The Nation's reach to the progressive community of America with our low rates of 4 insertions, \$3.15 per word, 15-word minimum.

DEMOCRACY SOUTH, A NETWORK OF GRASSROOTS organizations building state-based multiracial, multi-issue coalitions, seeks an able and experienced organizer to work throughout the South. Experience working with communities of color very important. E-mail demsouth@all4democracy.org for job description.

ORGANIZER: NORTHWEST BRONX COMMUNITY & CLERGY Coalition, to direct local affiliate. Issues include housing, school overcrowding, vacant land. Musts are a BA, 2 years' experience in high pressure job, Spanish, computer skills, willingness to learn and practice our organizing model, and 10-12 hour days, including 3 nights/week and frequent Saturdays. *No students!* Salary: \$26,000-\$30,000, health, life, 403b. Call (718) 584-0515; e-mail resumé to NWBCCC@IGC.ORG.

ORGANIZER/COMMUNITY EDUCATORS. Organizing and outreach positions with state's largest consumer watchdog coalition. Excellent public speaking, computer and phone skills necessary, car required. Experienced political organizer, salary in the 30s. Full- and part-time community educators, entry-level salary. Great benefits. Fax letter, resumé to NJ Citizen Action, (732) 214-8385.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE for Peace and Freedom seeks a program coordinator with responsibility for serving, linking and promoting the three national priority campaigns: Uniting for Racial Justice: Truth, Reparations, Restoration and Reconciliation; Challenging Corporate Power: Asserting the People's Rights; and Disarmament: Dismantling the War Economy. Full-time position, salary \$20,000 plus generous benefits. WILPF is an affirmative action employer. Send resumé and writing sample to Search Committee, WILPF, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107; fax (215) 563-5527; e-mail pjburnley@wilpf.org. For more info see Web site at www.wilpf.org.

TEACH/TUTOR ENGLISH, computer skills, civics or literacy. Small, friendly, all-volunteer, nonprofit night school in Manhattan needs volunteers to teach primarily Spanish-speaking adults. Spanish not required. Call Centro de Educación de Trabajadores, (212) 765-4634.

ORGANIZERS. MASSACHUSETTS NEIGHBOR TO NEIGHBOR, working for a progressive working-family agenda through grassroots organizing, coalition-building, lobbying, media and electoral campaigns, seeks committed organizers. Experience in grassroots-issue, labor or electoral campaigns a must, along with ability to own and operate a car (mileage reimbursed). Women and people of color are strongly encouraged to apply. \$26,000-\$34,000, health- and childcare benefits. For job announcement, call (617) 723-6866 or write MA N2N, 8 Beacon St., 4th floor, Boston, MA 02108.

STRATEGIC RESEARCHER, WASHINGTON, DC: Position based in DC requires significant travel. Obtain detailed information by contacting United Union of Roofers, Waterproofers & Allied Workers, Attn: Regis Maher, 1660 L St. NW, Washington, DC 20036; call (202) 463-7663; fax (202) 463-6906; e-mail regism@unionroofers.com.

Enter a whole new world of writing pleasure...

Voyager Fountain Pen still only \$49⁹⁵*

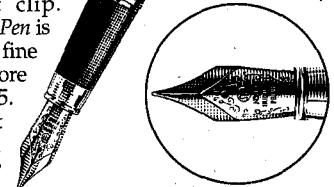
*But read this ad for an even better deal!

The *Voyager Fountain Pen*, another in the line of Fujiyama luxury writing instruments, is equal or superior to the great pens of Europe and America in function and appearance, quite indistinguishable in heft and feel. The 2-tone nib of the *Voyager Fountain Pen* is heavily 18-kt. gold-plated, tipped by a silky-smooth iridium point. Just as those fine European and American pens, Voyager pens are tastefully decorated with gold-plated applications and pocket clip.

The truly astonishing thing about the *Voyager Fountain Pen* is the price. We are the exclusive representatives of these fine writing instruments in the United States. We can therefore bring you this superior fountain pen for just \$49.95. Compare that to the \$150 to \$250 that you would expect to pay for equivalent U.S. or European luxury fountain pens. But we have an even better deal. **Buy two for \$99.90, and we'll send you a third one, with our compliments—absolutely FREE!** If you now write with ballpoint pens you can't know what a pleasure it is to write with liquid ink and with a truly fine fountain pen. The pen flows effortlessly across the paper—there is no need to exert pressure. You can write on and on without tiring. Start writing with what many believe to be the finest, or certainly equal to the finest, writing instruments in the world, get incredible savings and order your *Voyager Fountain Pen(s)* today!

• The *Voyager Fountain Pen* comes with a dual ink supply—piston converter and ink cartridges. Two cartridges are included with the pen.

• The 2-tone nib of the *Voyager* is 18-kt. gold-plated, with a silk-smooth iridium tip.



FOR FASTEST SERVICE, ORDER TOLL FREE
(800) 797-7367 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
OR FAX YOUR ORDER TO: (415) 643-2818.

Please give order Code#1001F335. If you prefer, mail check or card authorization and expiration. We need daytime phone # for all orders. Add our standard \$4.95 shipping/insurance charge (plus sales tax for CA delivery). You have 30-day return and one-year warranty. We do not refund shipping charges.

For customer service and for wholesale/premium quantity orders, please call (415) 643-2810.

since 1967
haverhills®

2360 Third St., San Francisco, CA 94107



CONQUER SPANISH!

It's a battle learning a second language. Attack your Spanish with *Perspectiva* or *El Puente*. Vanquish boredom with these linguistic weapons—win the war on fluency with strong vocabulary.

- Spanish at *YOUR* level—better comprehension!
- Glossary next to articles—no page flipping!
- Spoken Idioms & Grammar—improve fluency!

El Puente

High-Beginning Spanish
\$39 for 12 monthly issues

Perspectiva

Intermediate Spanish
\$39 for 12 monthly issues

SUBSCRIBE TODAY, or call for your **FREE BROCHURE** with sample articles and sample glossary.

Educational News Service
PO Box 60478-NA Florence, MA 01062

1-800-600-4494 ♦ info@ednews.com

EVENTS

NATIONAL

Economy Connection

■ If the economy has been mystifying you lately, contact Economy Connection, a project of the Union for Radical Political Economics. We can provide a speaker for a political or educational event, or someone to discuss economic questions informally with a few members of your community organization, union, political group or classroom. Our members speak and write about a large number of topics, from various points of view—we will look for someone who is right for you! Call (201) 792-7459; e-mail soapbox@igc.org. For more information about URPE, call the URPE National Office at (203) 777-4605; e-mail URPE@labornet.org; browse www.urpe.org; or write URPE, 37 Howe St., New Haven, CT 06511.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Monday. Rates: \$150 for up to 50 words; \$225 for up to 75 words. To place an ad, call Vivette at (212) 209-5416.

China, Tibet, Pakistan...

A quixotic quest for a Lost Horizon takes us beyond the pale and behind today's headlines.

Arrested in China, Cammarata is at once pilgrim, explorer and agent provocateur.

"AS WITH JAMES JOYCE...you are a new voice and may need a brave publisher to launch you."

—International P.E.N. London

"A LIVELY AND POWERFUL first-person odyssey of a trekker who delves into other worlds."

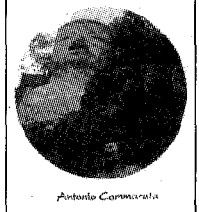
—The Midwest Book Review

Unraveling on the Old Silk Road: Hitchhiking China and Beyond by Antonio Cammarata.

Jay Street Publishers, New York, NY
1-889534-24-2, 464 pages, photos. \$21.95.

Available at most bookstores or Asia Society, New York, NY

Hitchhiking China and Beyond
Unraveling
on the
Old Silk Road



Antonio Cammarata

Write in 
Gov. Claude D. FLUNCH
*America's
 Greatest American*
for President!
www.nicktwisp.com


5" Emblem or 1" Pin (gold or silver)
FISH
 \$7 PPD
 Dept 76 Box 26523 Colorado Springs, CO 80936
 Credit cards Fax or voice 800-Evolving (386-5846)
 More gift ideas!!! www.evolveFISH.com

STUDY IN CUBA
¡Nunca es tarde para aprender español!
 A unique Spanish program that combines expert instruction and immersion in one of the world's most fascinating societies.

- Classes at the University of Havana
- One-on-One Tutoring
- Optional home-stay
- Meet with Cubans representing different sectors of society.
- ¡Salsa y Playa! and more...

 **GLOBAL EXCHANGE 1.800.497.1994**


Kalani ORGANICA
 — Coffees & Teas —
 Committed to providing the world with only certified organic, shade grown, arabica beans...shipped in biodegradable packaging. We offer incomparable freshness and flavor with our coffees and teas while supporting worker owned cooperatives around the world.
 Free catalog: 1-800-200-4377, or www.speakaseasy.org/kalani
 Isn't it nice to know that for a change, you're drinking coffee and tea with integrity?

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!
 Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but ABSOLUTELY INCONVERTIBLE! Send \$5 to Abelard Reuchlin Foundation, Box 5652-B, Kent WA 98064. For details please send SASE

Classified

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

WANTED: AWARD-WINNING, NYC-BASED TV PRODUCTION company seeks interns for reporting, research and field production for national television programs. Part or full time. Call (212) 307-6280 or fax résumé to (212) 586-9870.

CO-EDITOR WANTED FOR DOLLARS AND SENSE, the progressive economics magazine in Boston. \$29,000. Generous benefits. Send clips, CV and 3 references to 1 Summer St., Somerville, MA 02143.

DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR: L.A. SOCIAL HISTORY LIBRARY. Resource development (donor-base expansion, grant-writing, special events) for unique library on L.A. labor and social history. Salary \$30,000-\$35,000. Send letter, résumé and grant-writing sample to Sarah Cooper, Director, Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, 6120 S. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90044.

UNION CAMPAIGNER. The International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions (ICEM) is recruiting a senior union campaigner to work in its North American Regional Office in Washington, DC, to assist affiliates in cross-border solidarity work. For qualifications see www.icemna.org/opening.htm. Please send résumé with salary history, references, writing sample and cover letter explaining your interest to Kenneth Zinn, North American Regional Coordinator, ICEM, 815 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20006. Women and people of color are encouraged to apply. No phone calls or e-mails please.

COORDINATING ATTORNEY, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PROJECT. Legal Services of North Carolina (LSNC), a major nonprofit civil legal service provider to low-income households, seeks a compassionate and organized attorney to lead its Domestic Violence Project. The Coordinating Attorney serves as the project's primary organizer and legal advocate, and works to promote the understanding of, the support for and the assistance to the critical needs of the victims of domestic violence. Requirements: demonstrated commitment to poverty law with some experience in immigration law and with victims of domestic violence; desire to work with, support and assist local groups in building their organizational capacity to fight domestic violence; 2+ years in project management with experience in the recruitment and training of attorneys or advocates preferred. Fluency in Spanish strongly preferred. Grant- or proposal-writing experience a plus. Current NC Bar membership in good standing, or available for comity, or available for first bar exam. \$30,000+ DOE. Excellent benefits and leave policy. EOE. Minorities, women, elderly and disabled persons encouraged to apply. Applications will be accepted until the position is filled. Send application letter, résumé and writing sample to George Hausen, LSNC, PO Box 26087, Raleigh, NC 27611.

PUBLISHERS

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED, ALL TYPES. Publisher with 75-year tradition. "Author's Guide to Subsidy Publishing." (800) 695-9599.

ATTENTION AUTHORS. Established publisher with international offices can arrange the editing, publication, promotion, warehousing and distribution of your book. Pentland Press, Department N. (800) 948-2786.

PUBLICATIONS

To advertise your publication here, call Vivette at (212) 209-5416.

PROGRESSIVE POPULIST. Heartland news, alternative views with Jim Hightower, Molly Ivins, Ralph Nader, Jesse Jackson, Norman Solomon and other muckrakers and agitators. 22 issues \$29.95. FREE SAMPLE: (800) 205-7067.

DRAGONSWORDS, MONTHLY ESSAY OR STORY. 12 issues \$12. Free sample. 6540 Boca Raton, Box 222, Ft. Worth, Texas 76112.

BEAUTIFUL, SOPHISTICATED SPANKING EROTICA abounds at www.shadowlane.com. *Stand Corrected* magazine and video catalogue \$20. Shadow Lane-NAT, PO Box 1910, Studio City, CA 91614-0910. Call (818) 985-9151.

THE ANTICHRIST AND GEORGE W. BUSH, \$3.95, Kansan 1225, Box 840395, Houston, TX 77284.

RADICAL TEACHER. PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE, for K-12, college, university. Three issues, \$14 (part-time/unemployed, \$8). Free sample: Radical Teacher-N, Box 383316, Cambridge, MA 02238.

SERVICES

INTERMEDIA PROVIDES PROFESSIONAL WEB SERVICES. Creative, engaging, effective—we do it all. Visit our Web site: www.intermedia-llc.com. (360) 756-1212.

ARTIST WILL CREATE ABSTRACT SCULPTURE for your outdoor location. E-mail roninich@juno.com.

WEB SITES

EVOLUTION'S VOYAGE. Evolutionary psychology for the common person. The Renaissance is coming. www.evoyage.com.

REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY ADVENTURE NOVEL: www.oaklandstatement.com.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD \$3.50/word, 15-word minimum; PO Box and telephone numbers count as two words.

Buy 4 runs, pay \$3.15 per word
 Buy 10 runs, pay \$3.00 per word

Buy 24 runs, pay \$2.75 per word
 Buy 47 runs, pay \$2.25 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of \$30/insertion. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4" wide by 1/2" deep. Stat of logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ for _____ insertions at \$ _____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include \$30 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

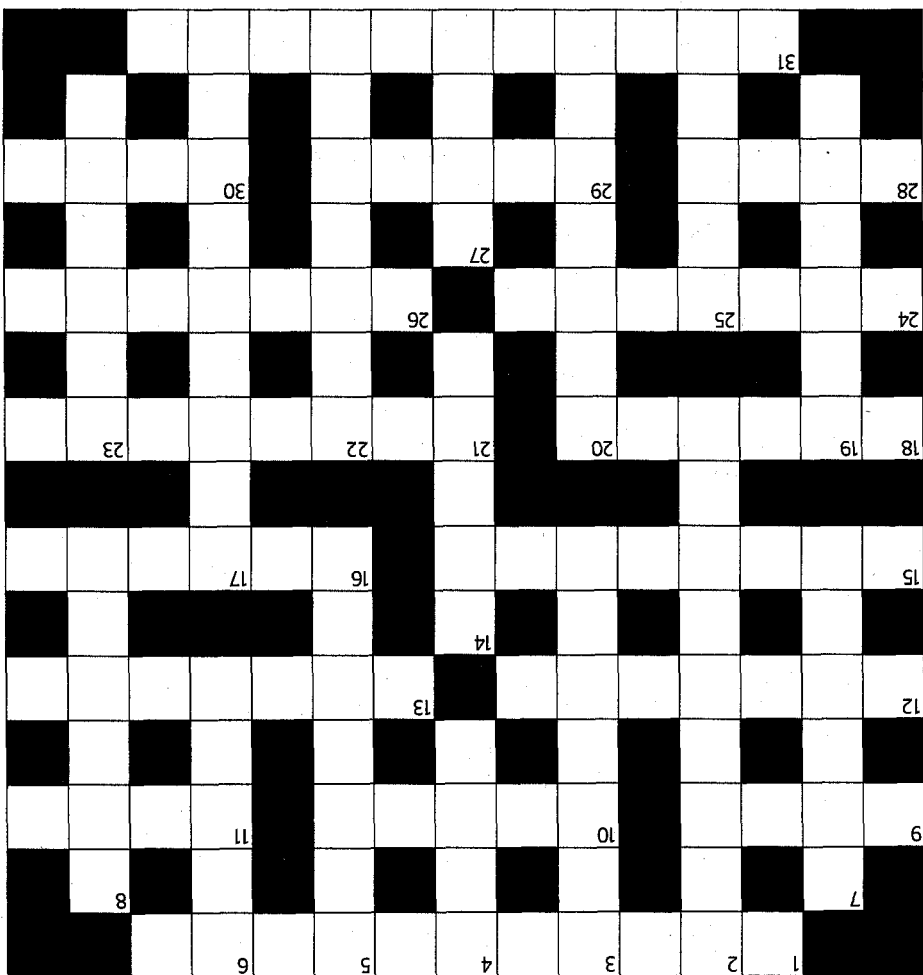
For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail vivetted@thenation.com.

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

PUZZLE Y2K

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 a k a 19, 29 and 24. (3,4,3,1)

9 and 11 This is quite a lot and gets you old before you have

“grit,” but it takes a couple of them to make the above. (8)

10 Take your hat off when you open a bottle of beer! (5)

12 You have to sprinkle a variety of grapes before sending them to the Orient. (7)

13 Topical sort of mine? (4-3)

15 Indeed it's a sign of victory with what belongs to us, when gobbled up. (8)

16 Sort of subtle, but that's how some apartments are! (6)

18 One doesn't like to hear it on the radio, since it's so stationary. (6)

21 Notice the projectile when it goes in. (8)

24 See 19 down

26 Tried to learn a kind of poker, though going to die horribly! (7)

28 Instructions not to change a thing! (4)

29 See 19 down

30 The flower of your eye. (4)

31 Teddy prided himself on being one, so you can have faith in Mr. Keaton. (11)

DOWN

2 Oh, it's up to good purpose—a little firm at the end, but wearable. (9)

3 A family of desperados, so none of us are getting any! (7)

4 What the rude bridge is to the flood is a bit mischievous! (4)

5 Makes things even around the broken pot, as one silently enters. (7)

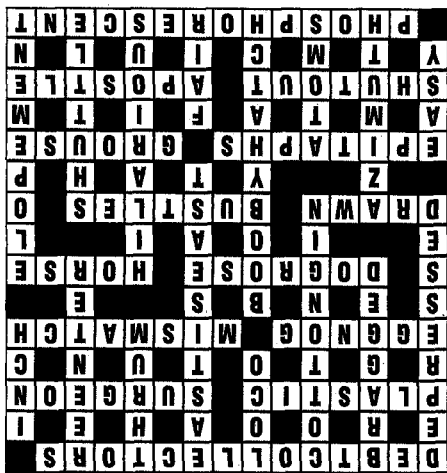
6 Could be a louse badly affecting the flier. (5)

7 Spoken to through a hole in the wall, the thing here gets to exist. (6)

8 Not a late version, with the wrong note when I'm inside. (2,4)

- 14 It takes a bit of trouble to exist as a brick. (5)
- 17 The commercial supply of what might be rye or whole wheat is something we don't want in 1 across, though it plagued the 30s. (5,4)
- 19, 29 across and 24 across 1 across starts this, coming a hundred years after a limited rail venture. (6-5,7)
- 20 Far up in the case, a bit looped, they hold their wine! (7)
- 22 It's a real understatement the way one can't tell the truth about the little kid! (7)
- 23 Headed South, it would be much colder than the couple of countries located here. (6)
- 25 An Egyptian king, alternatively a teacher of such. (5)
- 27 Proving even a good poet can come up with as dull as this! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2736



PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: *Puzzled, The Nation*, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our Web site at www.thenation.com/print/hints.

WHAT THE MEDIA ISN'T TELLING YOU

About Bertelsmann's Hidden Nazi Past In an expose trumpeted coast to coast, *The Nation* revealed that Bertelsmann - the largest book publisher in the U.S. - has carefully hidden its stalwart complicity with the Third Reich.

About Russia In "Harvard Boys Do Russia," *The Nation* showed how a team of Harvard economists sent the former Soviet Union into an economic spiral unseen during the most stagnant days of the Communist regime.

About The Wall Street Journal Contrary to its self-assessment as "the world's most important publication," Gore Vidal noted for *The Nation* "just how unknown this cheery neofascist paper is to the majority of Americans."

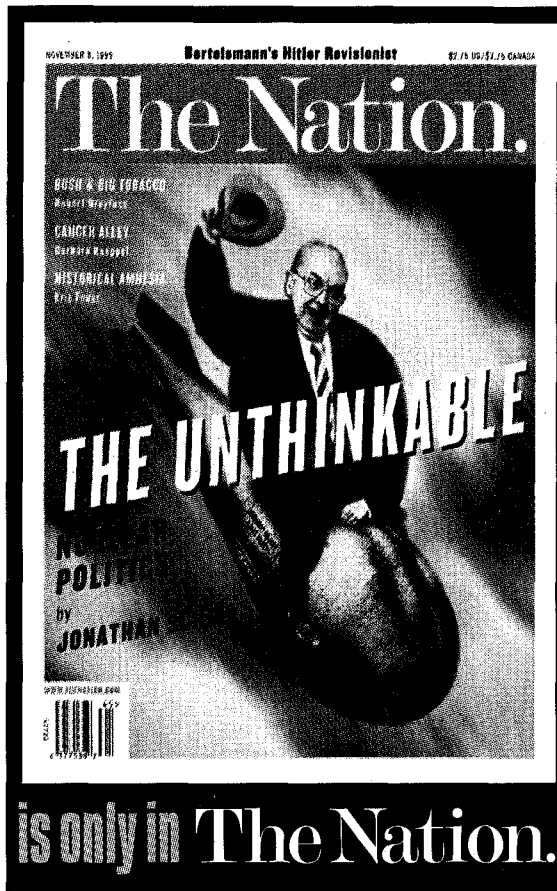
About Arts Funding As columnist Katha Pollitt wrote, "the right-wing attack on the National Endowment for the Arts is playing to a small, if ferocious, constituency. Contrary to stereotype, Americans like the arts, and the more access they have to them, the more they like them. New York City's museums these days are as crowded as Bloomingdale's. Last year Americans spent 50 percent more attending arts than sports events. Even poetry is showing signs of life."

About The Battle in Seattle. "Seattle was indeed a milestone of a new kind of politics. Labor shed its nationalism for a new rhetoric of internationalism and solidarity. Progressives replaced their apologetic demeanor of the past twenty years with confidence, style and wit."

About The Battle Beyond Seattle.

As William Greider put it in his debut as *The Nation*'s new national affairs correspondent, "Arrogance designed the WTO; arrogance will doubtless defend it. In the meantime, the WTO can serve as a splendid rallying point for popular resistance."

About The F.B.I. An intensive investigation for *The Nation* turned up everything from slovenly casework to massively skewed priorities. Example: Number of convictions for health and safety violations against employees in a single year: one. Number of telephone taps: 1.3 million.



is only in **The Nation.**

Want to know more? More than you'll ever learn from the corporate-owned major media? Covering everything from Washington and Wall Street to the latest books, films and art? Subscribe to America's oldest, nosiest, most independent weekly journal of fact and opinion.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER OF \$50 OFF THE SINGLE-COPY RATE



PLEASE SEND

ME 24 ISSUES OF **THE NATION** AT THE SPECIAL LOW

RATE OF JUST \$15.97—\$50 OFF THE REGULAR NEWSSTAND RATE:

☐ PAYMENT ENCLOSED

☐ BILL ME

☐ BILL MY:

☐ VISA

☐ MASTERCARD

☐ AMEX

CARD# _____ EXP. _____

SIGNATURE _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

E-MAIL _____

MAIL TO: **THE NATION**, P.O. BOX 55149, BOULDER, CO 80322-5149, OR

CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-333-8536

OR GO TO WWW.THENATION.COM

The ultimate radio puts the world at your fingertips

Info-Mate® World Band Dynamo and Solar Radio features 11 bands, plenty of features and the option of getting power from four different sources.

by Jeff Abrams

How often have you turned on your portable radio only to realize the batteries were dead? And going to the store to get new ones not only turns into one more time-consuming errand, but it ends up being a pretty expensive trip. Wouldn't it be great to use a radio without using up batteries?

Now there is a truly portable radio that will never depend on batteries. The InfoMate® World Band Dynamo and Solar Radio is the most versatile radio ever built! This radio runs on four AA Nickel-Cadmium rechargeable batteries that are good for a lifetime. Once these four batteries are charged, they will last for approximately seven hours of continuous play. An indicator on the front warns when the batteries are low and need to be recharged.

No more batteries. One reason the InfoMate is known as the most versatile radio ever built is its four ways of being recharged. Forget the regular type of battery rechargers that need to be plugged into a wall overnight. Although the InfoMate® can be recharged through an AC/DC wall adapter, it can also get seven hours of juice just from your car's cigarette lighter. If you want to take your InfoMate on the beach, you won't need new batteries at all. It comes with a self-contained, first grade solar cell that lasts a lifetime. Three hours of sunlight

will charge the radio for approximately four to six hours of playing time. If you can't spend every day on the beach, keeping it on your windowsill or another sunny spot works just as well.

The fourth way to add power to the InfoMate® when it starts to fade is an ingenious hand-cranked generator hidden into the side of the radio. All you have to do is

does it have the normal AM/FM stations, it can bring you the sound portion of broadcast television shows. How many times have you been interested in a television show or a sporting event and had to go out in the car and could not find the program on the car radio? With the most versatile radio ever invented, you could keep up with the action while running errands or commuting.

With this versatile radio, you can also listen to worldwide foreign broadcasts on any of four short wave bands as well as taxi cab, police ambulance and commercial airline communications. Another important feature of the InfoMate® radio is the band that brings you access to the National Weather Service. Keep up with current forecasts when you need them, not when radio or television stations

choose to air them. If you happen to be driving through a severe storm and forgot to charge your radio, but need the latest forecasts, just plug the radio into the cigarette lighter to get the vital information you want.

Your InfoMate® radio comes with four AA rechargeable batteries, and the deluxe package comes with the optional accessories of an AC/DC adapter, supersonic earplugs, and a 12 volt car cigarette lighter charging cord. You will also get an emergency weather preparedness booklet.

Risk-free. Info Mate®

radio truly is the most versatile radio ever built. Now you can try it for yourself, risk-free. It comes with a 30 day manufacturer's limited warranty (Solar Cell comes with a lifetime warranty) and Comtrad's exclusive home trial. If you are not satisfied for any reason, simply return it within 90 days for a full "No Questions Asked" refund.

Deluxe Info-Mate World Band Radio

.....\$99.95 \$8 S&H

Please mention promotional code **7978-17446**

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-992-2966



To order by mail, send check or money order for the total amount including S&H. To charge it to your credit card, enclose your account number and expiration date.

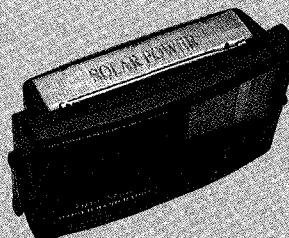
Virginia residents only—please include 4.5% sales tax.

comtrad industries
2820 Waterford Lake Dr., Suite 102
Midlothian, Virginia 23112



The Most Versatile Radio Ever Built

- Auto Switch rechargeable design
- Four-way power
- 11 Bands:
 - National Weather Service
 - Radio broadcasts from foreign countries
 - Taxicab, police, ambulance and pilot communications
 - AM/FM radio
 - TV stations (2-13 non-cable)
- Great for emergencies, auto, outdoor and recreational use!



Our index fund...
beat the S&P 500,
received Morningstar's highest overall rating,[™]
...and that's only half the story.

At Domini Social Investments delivering competitive returns is important, but we believe there is more to investing. Today's social investors are shaping tomorrow's world. By investing responsibly, considering environmental and social factors, we're redefining corporate America's bottom line.

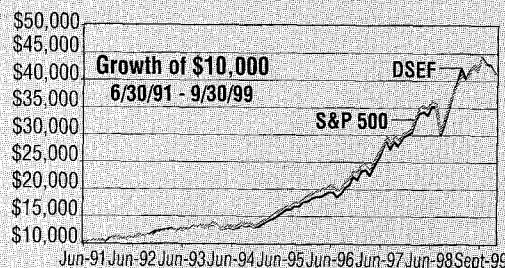
Our performance speaks for itself, but let us tell you more about the other half of the story.

Call 800-225-FUND (3863) or visit us at www.domini.com to learn more about the Domini Social Equity Fund, the nation's first socially and environmentally screened index fund.

★★★★★ Morningstar Overall Rating

Among 3,210 and 2,010 domestic equity funds for the 3-year and 5-year periods ended 9/30/99, respectively.¹

DOMINI SOCIAL EQUITY FUND VS. S&P 500²



Avg. Annual Total Returns as of 9/30/99 ²	DSEF	S&P 500 Index
1 year	30.09%	27.80%
5 year	25.39%	25.01%
Since 6/3/91 (Inception)	18.14%	18.09%

Past performance is no guarantee of future results. Investment return and principal value will vary, and you may have a gain or loss when you sell shares.

No-Load

Available for IRAs



Domini 

SOCIAL INVESTMENTS

The Responsible Index FundSM

1-800-225-FUND

www.domini.com

For more information including fees and expenses, call for a free prospectus. Please read it carefully before you invest. 1. Morningstar[™] proprietary ratings are subject to change monthly and reflect historical risk-adjusted performance as of 9/30/99. They are calculated from the fund's 3- and 5-year average annual returns in excess of 90-day T-bill returns with appropriate fee adjustments, and a risk factor that reflects fund performance below 90-day T-bill returns. The top 10% of funds in their broad asset class receive five stars. The next 22.5% receive four stars, and the next 35% receive three stars. 2. Total return figures are historical and include changes in share price, reinvestment of dividends and capital gains. The Fund waived certain fees during the period, without which returns would have been lower. The Standard & Poor's 500 Index is an unmanaged index in which direct investment cannot be made.

Although the Fund is no-load, certain fees and expenses apply to a continued investment. DSIL Investment Services LLC, Distributor.
©1999 Domini Social Investments LLC.

10/99
ADTN004-18